"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, mostly sunny, cold, windy and dry, high 46. Tonight, clear, breezy, cold, low 34. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, breezy at times, colder, high 43. Weather map, Page B10.

VOL. CLXXII ... No. 59,610 © 2022 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2022 $3.00

G.O.P. TAKES HOUSE WITH A SLIM MAJORITY

Gay Marriage Clears Hurdle In Senate Vote

12 in G.O.P. Cross Aisle to Back Rights Bill

By ANNIE KARNI

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Wednesday took a crucial step toward passing landmark legislation to provide federal protections for same-sex marriages, as 12 Republicans joined Democrats to advance the Respect for Marriage Act, putting it on track to become law in the twilight of the Democratic-held Congress.

The 62-to-37 vote, which came only days after the midterm elections in which Democrats retained control of the Senate but lost the House to Republicans, was a rare and notable last gasp of bipartisanship by a lame duck Congress as lawmakers looked toward an era of political gridlock.

It also signaled a remarkable shift in American politics and culture, demonstrating how same-sex marriage, once a divisive issue, has been so widely accepted that a law to protect the rights of same-sex couples across the country could gain decisive, bipartisan majorities in both the Senate and the House. Last summer, 47 House Republicans joined Democrats to pass a version of the bill.

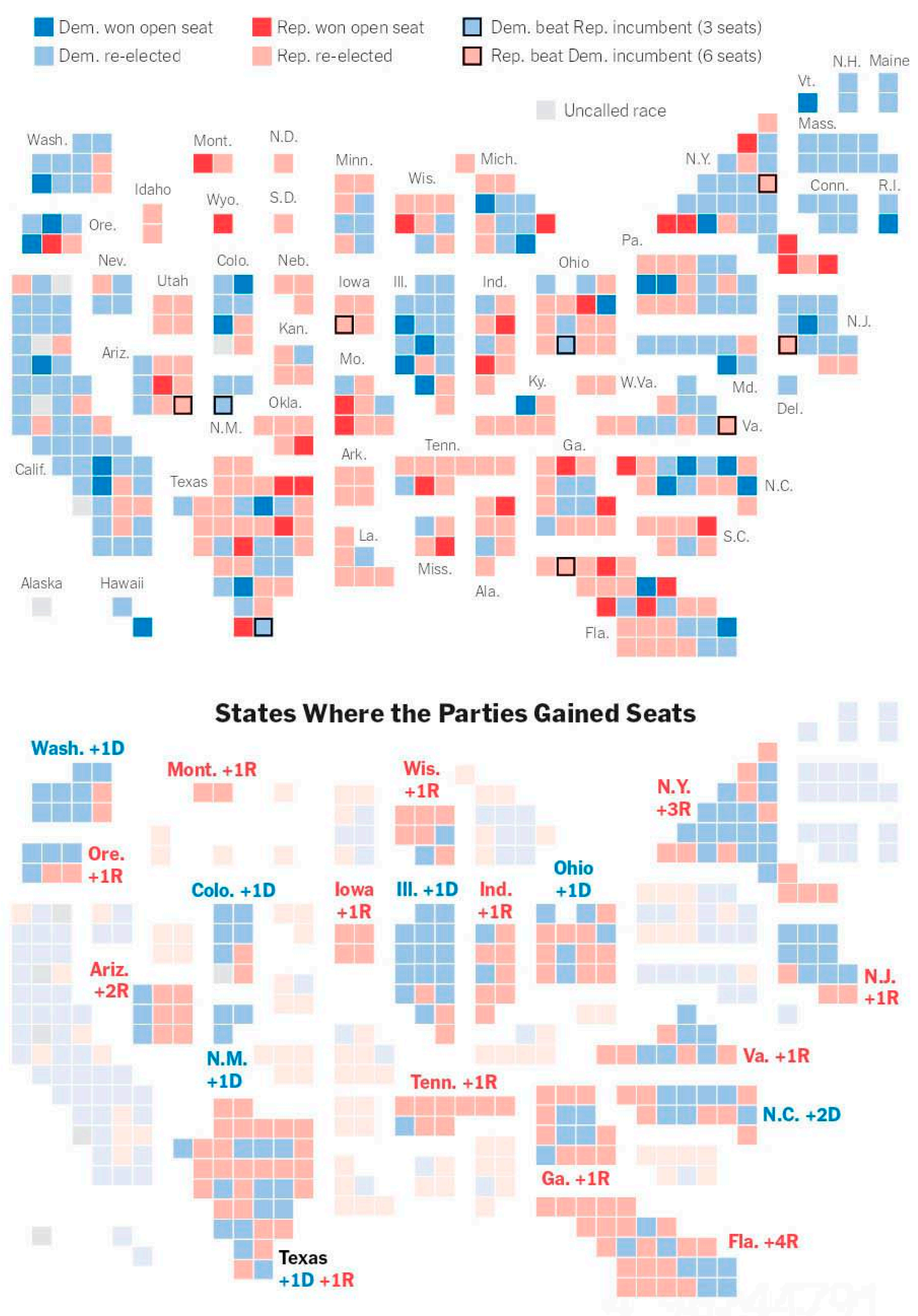
Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, said that passage of the legislation, now expected after Thanksgiving, would be "one of the true highlights of the year for this body" and "one of the more significant accomplishments of this Senate to date."

Speaking on the Senate floor, Mr. Schumer noted that his daughter and her wife were expecting a baby in the spring and that he wanted "them, and everyone in a loving relationship, to live without the fear that their rights could one day be stripped away."

The measure still must win pas-

Continued on Page A18

Who Has Won House Seats So Far



Source: The Associated Press | Note: California's 34th District is uncalled; both candidates are Democrats. Because of redistricting, Texas' 34th District and Florida's Second had both a Democratic and a Republican incumbent. Gains by state do not add up to each party's total gains because some states added or lost seats in reapportionment. Filled vacant seats are counted as gains. Results are as of 8:30 p.m. Eastern time.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Party to Face Internal Divisions and Democratic-Held Senate

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Republicans secured a slender majority in the House of Representatives on Wednesday, a delayed yet consequential finish to the 2022 midterm elections that will reorder the balance of power in Washington and is expected to effectively give the party a veto on President Biden's agenda for the next two years.

With vote counting stretching for over a week, the Republican Party formally captured the 218 House seats needed to claim the majority after just four years out of power. The outcomes in six close races that remain undecided will determine the final size of a slim Republican majority that will be far narrower than party leaders had expected, though Republicans still cheered the achievement.

"The era of one-party Democrat rule in Washington is over," Representative Kevin McCarthy, the House Republican leader, said this week on Capitol Hill, as his Republican colleagues nominated him to serve as House speaker. "Washington now has a check and balance."

The victory of Representative Mike Garcia of California pushed Republicans into the majority, a somewhat anticlimactic finish to an election that was an overall disappointment for House Republicans, who had arrived at Election Day with grandiose predictions of a red wave.

Of the six remaining uncalled House races, Republicans were ahead in four, and Democrats were leading in two.

In the Senate, Democrats maintained control of the chamber, which has been split 50-50, and could even expand their majority if Senator Raphael Warnock, Democrat of Georgia, prevails in a runoff election next month against Herschel Walker, the Republican former football star.

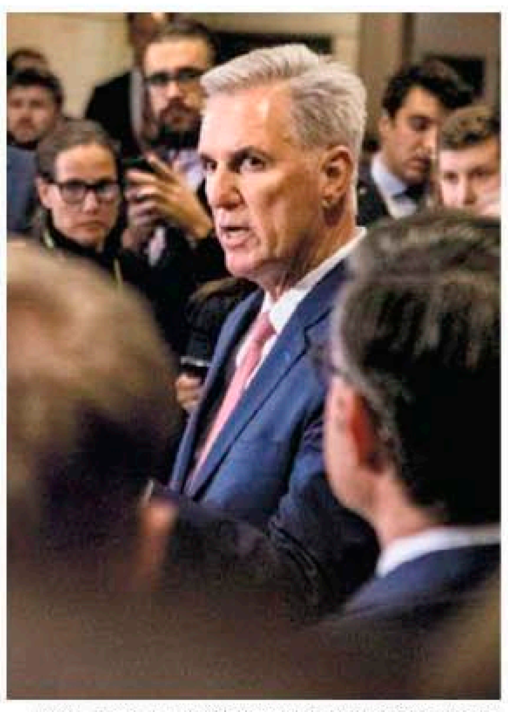
The final results show that voters failed to deliver the type of unalloyed repudiation of Mr. Biden and his management of the economy that many Republicans had predicted in the face of the hottest inflation in 40 years. Democrats instead enjoyed the strongest showing in a presidential midterm in the last two decades, after Mr. Biden repeatedly cast the 2022 campaign not as a referendum on Democratic rule but as a choice between his party and Republican extremism.

"I congratulate Leader McCarthy on Republicans winning the House majority, and am ready to work with House Republicans to deliver results for working families," Mr. Biden said in a statement on Wednesday, adding that "the future is too promising to be trapped in political warfare."

But the president also recognized the surprising strength of the Democratic showing, and the defeat of a series of far-right Republicans who had refused to recognize the legitimacy of the last

Continued on Page A19

'PEOPLE'S HOUSE' The G.O.P. took control, but now it has to try to govern. News Analysis. PAGE A19



ANNA ROSE LAYDEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kevin McCarthy, the Republican leader of the House.

Launch Blazes Trail for NASA Back to Moon

By KENNETH CHANG

KENNEDY SPACE CENTER, Fla. — NASA's majestic new rocket soared into space for the first time in the early hours of Wednesday, lighting up the night sky and accelerating on a journey that will take an astronaut-less capsule around the moon and back.

This flight, evoking the bygone Apollo era, is a crucial test for NASA's Artemis program that aims to put astronauts, after five decades of loitering in low-Earth orbit, back on the moon.

"We are all part of something incredibly special," Charlie Blackwell-Thompson, the launch director, said to her team at the Kennedy Space Center after the launch. "The first launch of Artemis. The first step in returning our country to the moon and on to Mars."

For NASA, the mission ushers in a new era of lunar exploration, one that seeks to unravel scientific mysteries in the shadows of craters in the polar regions, test technologies for dreamed-of journeys to Mars and spur private enterprise to chase new entrepreneurial frontiers farther out in the solar system.

As China and other countries are vying to explore space, Wednesday's launch also highlights a growing philosophical ten-

Continued on Page A17

Labeled a Gangster, Based on 6 Text Messages

Britain's Crackdown on Gangs Is Profiling Young Black Men

By SELAM GEBREKIDAN

MANCHESTER, England — Ademola Adedeji tried to picture what the jury saw when they looked at him.

Could they tell that he was the school president? The captain of the rugby team? The older brother who made dinners for his siblings and read them bedtime stories?

Or did they see only Defendant No. 7 in a trial of 10 Black teenagers charged with conspiracy to murder? A gangster, the prosecutors claimed, who waged war on his rivals?

Mr. Adedeji, a very dark, very tall 18-year-old, had a lot riding on his testimony that morning in April this year. It was the sixth week of his trial, and this was his only chance to tell his side of the story.

If the jury believed him, he could graduate from high school and attend one of the universities that had offered him admission. If they didn't, he could spend the next two decades in prison.

For weeks, Mr. Adedeji tried to follow the prosecutors' arguments. They accused him of conspiring with the nine other defendants to murder and maim others.

But here is what baffled Mr. Adedeji: The prosecutors knew that he had not attacked anyone. He had never owned a gun, a knife or any other weapon. He had never thrown gang signs or dealt drugs. He had helped with the investigation, told detectives what he knew and volunteered his phone. He certainly had not killed anyone.

In fact, there was no murder victim.

What connected him to the case, and a major reason he was

Continued on Page A8



MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ademola Adedeji, of Bolton, England, in April. He was on trial this spring for conspiracy to murder.

Poland Views Missile Deaths As an Accident

By STEVEN ERLANGER and MARC SANTORA

BRUSSELS — A top NATO official and Poland's president said on Wednesday that a Ukrainian air-defense missile, not a Russian weapon, had most likely caused a deadly explosion on Polish territory, easing fears that the military alliance would become more deeply embroiled in the war.

Both went to pains to say that Ukraine was not to blame, noting that it had been fending off a major Russian aerial assault when the missile struck a Polish grain plant just over the border on Tuesday, killing two people.

"Let me be clear: This is not Ukraine's fault," said Jens Stoltenberg, the NATO secretary general. "Russia bears ultimate responsibility as it continues its illegal war against Ukraine."

Officials said that what had struck the grain-processing plant was an S-300 missile, a munition that was built for air defenses but that had also been used by Russia to attack Ukraine; Poland's justice minister said remnants of an S-300 had been found at the site of the explosion. Both Russia and Ukraine possess the systems — the earliest versions were developed in the Soviet Union — and that may have contributed to early confusion over who was responsible for the blast.

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Former Allies Holding Back On Trump '24

This article is by Reid J. Epstein, Lisa Lerer and Jonathan Weisman.

ORLANDO, Fla. — Three billionaire donors have moved on and others are actively weighing their options. A number of former allies are staying on the sidelines. A long list of potential rivals — from popular governors to members of Congress — are seriously assessing their chances for 2024. Even his own daughter has declined to get involved.

Within hours of Donald J. Trump announcing his third presidential bid on Tuesday, some of his former aides, donors and staunchest allies are shunning his attempt to recapture the White House, an early sign that he may face difficulty winning the support of a Republican Party still reeling from unexpected midterm losses.

While Mr. Trump has long faced opposition from the establishment and elite quarters of his party, this round of criticism was new in its raw bluntness, plainly out in the open by Wednesday and focused on reminding voters that the Trump era in Republican politics has led to the opposite of the endless winning Mr. Trump once promised.

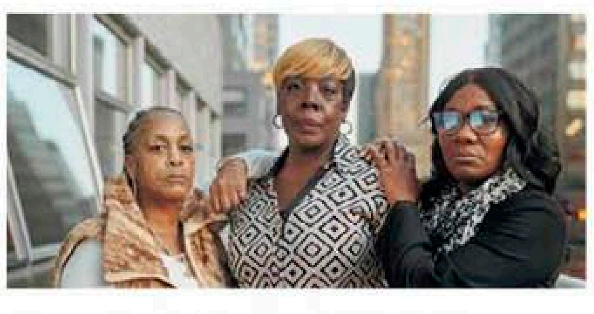
"The message he delivered last night — which was self-serving, which was chaotic — was the same one that lost the last election cycle and would lose the next,"

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NATIONAL A16-25

Madam Mayor
Karen Bass, a longtime congresswoman and California lawmaker, will be the first woman to lead Los Angeles. PAGE A25

Prison Abuse Victims to Sue
New legislation in New York will allow legal action over cases long past the criminal statute of limitations. PAGE A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-15

A Show of Diplomacy
President Biden put his coalition-building approach on display on visits in the Middle East and Asia. PAGE A15

The Great Woods Up North
Canada looks to its Indigenous people to protect its boreal forests, one of the world's biggest carbon sinks. PAGE A14

SPORTS B8-10

Mets Get a Neighbor in Queens
New York City F.C. will pay roughly $780 million to build a soccer stadium near Citi Field in a project that will include housing and a hotel. PAGE B9

BUSINESS B1-5

Preparing for Life After Twitter
Elon Musk's takeover offers valuable lessons about our relationship with social networks. Tech Fix. PAGE B1

Shoppers Seek Out Bargains
Retail sales in the U.S. rose last month, but discounts seemed to drive a significant portion of purchases. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

He's Flexing His Superpowers
Embodying a Mesoamerican godlike character in a Marvel movie is especially gratifying for the "Wakanda Forever" star Tenoch Huerta Mejía. PAGE C1

INSIDE THE TIMES A2-3

Turning the Page
Since 2017, Pages A2 and A3 have taken readers behind the scenes. Today we're excited to present these pages as Inside The Times, a reimagined section that will give you even more insight into our reporting and access to our journalists. Pick up Sunday's paper, when we will share more about our new content.



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

How to Dress a Rock Star
The Yeah Yeah Yeahs frontwoman Karen O has trusted a self-taught designer to define her look. PAGE D7

Drone Racers Are in Demand
Young pilots gain celebrity status as the sport draws fans with an appeal similar to that of Formula 1. PAGE D8

OPINION A26-27

Lydia Polgreen PAGE A27

VISIT…

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The New York Times

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The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

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Crossword C3
Obituaries B11-12
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Classified Ads B9







AUDIO

Donald J. Trump is running for president again. "The Argument," a Times Opinion podcast, examines Mr. Trump's odds and the current state of the Republican Party. nytimes.com/theargument

NEWSLETTER

Looking for something new to watch? Get recommendations on TV shows and movies four times a week with the Watching newsletter, which is exclusive to Times subscribers. nytimes.com/newsletters

CALENDAR

The Leonids meteor shower will peak from Thursday evening until dawn on Friday. Synchronize your digital calendar with this and other cosmic events by visiting nytimes.com/spacecalendar.

Quote of the Day

"My ex-fiancé would be like, 'Why are you always on those skates?' And I would tell him because you never see a sad roller skater."

KIA WHEELER, *of the Bronx, one of hundreds of women who plan to sue New York State over prison sexual abuse, on how she has coped with the trauma.* *Page A16.*

The Story Behind the Story

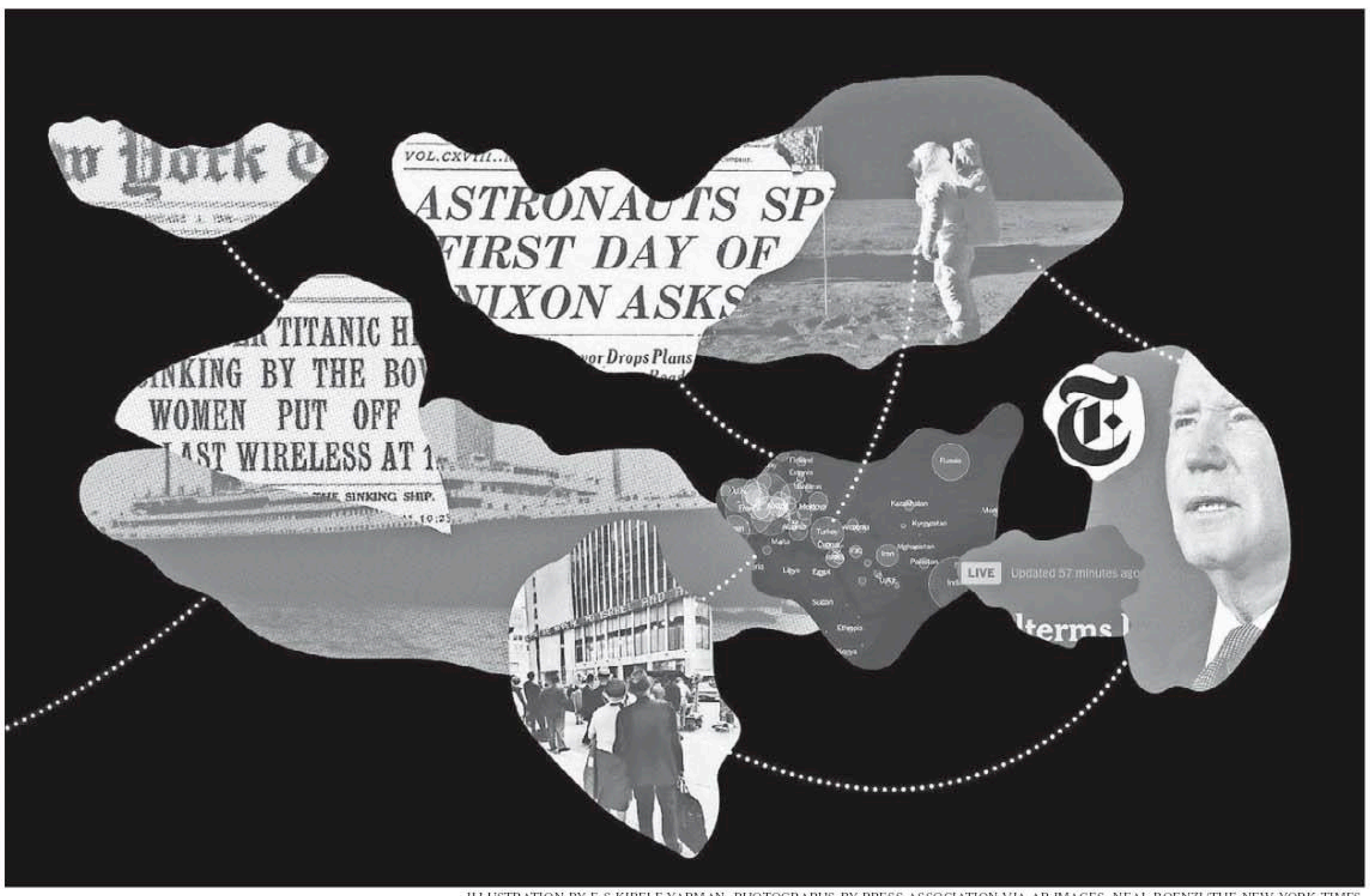


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Read All About It: Breaking News at The Times

Journalists seeking to relay reports have always turned to innovations, whether telegraphs or Live blogs.

By EMMETT LINDNER

Readers might be accustomed to seeing New York Times breaking news alerts flash across their phone screens or be in the habit of checking one or more of The Times's Live blogs as they're updated throughout the day. But delivering breaking news is hardly new territory.

"So much of what we do at The Times is steeped in history," said Suzanne Spector, a deputy editor on the International desk who oversees live coverage of events around the world. "We're inventing and experimenting every day."

Here are five examples of how The Times has gathered information or published breaking news since the newspaper was founded in 1851.

Wires From the Sea

At 10 p.m. on Feb. 3, 1908, The Times received a telegraph wire from the Cymric, an ocean liner sailing across the Atlantic. At 7:30 a.m., the ship had come across another vessel, the St. Cuthbert, ablaze 200 miles off the coast of Nova Scotia.

The wire came from David B. MacGowan, a passenger aboard the Cymric. Mr. MacGowan, who happened to be a correspondent for The Chicago Tribune, sent the information to The Times that detailed the events of the disaster and the rescue efforts. The Times's Feb. 4 paper landed in the hands of readers around the country with the headline "15 Lost From Burning Ship" emblazoned on the front page.

It was "among the first maritime disasters recorded in real time," said David W. Dunlap, the lead curator of the Museum at The Times, which houses Times artifacts, and a former reporter who has worked at the publication for more than 40 years.

Sharp Instincts

The Times broke the news of the Titanic's sinking just hours after the ship hit the iceberg. Back then, cable and telegraph copy was lowered in wooden boxes by rope from the wire room on the 18th floor of the Times building to the newsroom. At 1:20 a.m. on Monday, April 15, 1912, between the first and second editions of the newspaper, "the rope flailed madly," according to "The Story of The New York Times: 1851-1951" by Meyer Berger, a longtime Times reporter.

The first wire, from The Associated Press, said the Titanic had sent a distress signal — the ship had struck an iceberg. The Titanic, owned by the shipping company the White Star Line, had been touted as unsinkable, but Carr Van Anda, The Times's managing editor, looked at the facts: The ship had sent a distress signal, and 30 minutes later, another wire arrived stating that the ship was sinking. There was no further communication with the ship.

Other papers were cautious, but Mr. Van Anda ran the story, setting into motion what is now known as one of the greatest disaster reports of all time. His instincts were correct: The unsinkable ship had sunk.

News on the Move

For eight weeks, a team worked around the clock to build the zipper, an electric bulletin board on the outside of the old Times office in Times Square. Two men operating the zipper, James Torpey and Edward Linder, received teletype messages from the newsroom, grabbed the appropriate letters from a cabinet and mounted them onto a conveyor belt that wrapped around the building and carried news to the public.

On Nov. 6, 1928, the same night the zipper was first turned on, it displayed the news that Herbert Hoover had defeated Al Smith in the presidential election.

The zipper also broke news. When a verdict was reached in the trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann — the man accused of the abduction and murder of Charles Lindbergh's baby — the zipper ran the decision "ten seconds before the radio," according to Times Talk, an internal company publication that ran from 1947 to 2005.

The Final Frontier

On July 20, 1969, two crew members of the Apollo 11 mission prepared to become the first humans to set foot on the surface of the moon. The Times had set up an audio line direct from Mission Control in Houston, eliminating any delay that would have occurred from receiving accounts from reporters on the scene.

The landing made it into the paper's first edition with the headline "Men Land on Moon." New headlines appeared in the next two editions, reflecting the progression of the event: "Man Walks on Moon," referring to Neil Armstrong, and, finally, when Col. Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr. had joined him, "Men Walk on Moon."

Moment to Moment

Today, The Times's chief breaking news tool is the Live blog, which provides real-time coverage of an event — like Queen Elizabeth II's death or midterm election results — in a reverse chronological format. A time stamp at the top of the page informs the reader when the blog was last updated, and a pinned post gives the broad strokes.

The process involves a 24-hour operation of handoffs around the world to keep coverage humming. "We've moved beyond writing newspaper stories and then updating those newspaper stories and updating them again," Marc Lacey, a managing editor at The Times, said.

Live coverage reflects reader appetites, and the format will evolve. Julie Bloom, the editor of the Live team, said that "the best Live experience is when you can help guide readers through a story, as it's unfolding in real time, and when we are helping answer readers' questions in the moment."

Today's Top Trending Headlines

Highlights From NASA's Artemis Moon Rocket Launch Kenneth Chang, a Times science reporter who has been covering NASA and spaceflight since the 1990s, provided live updates on Wednesday's launch of the Artemis I moon rocket. From NASA's Kennedy Space Center in Florida, Mr. Chang guided readers through the liftoff and provided details such as how the "firing room" was in the hands of the first woman to serve as launch director, Charlie Blackwell-Thompson.

Trump Announces 2024 Run, Repeating Lies and Exaggerating Record A team of reporters around the globe followed former President Donald J. Trump's announcement that he would seek a second term, providing context and fact-checking his speech in Florida. A reporter traveling with President Biden for a Group of 20 summit in Bali, Indonesia, asked if he had a reaction. ("Not really," he said.)

How an American Survived Hiding From the Russians in Kherson For 8 Months Timothy Morales, an American English teacher who had opened a school in the city of Kherson in southern Ukraine, hid from the Russian military and secret police during their occupation. Only when the city was liberated did he feel safe to emerge in public. Andrew E. Kramer, The Times's Ukraine bureau chief, tells his story.

Amid the Adderall Shortage, People With A.D.H.D. Face Withdrawal and Despair A nationwide shortage of Adderall has left patients wondering how to access the medication. The Well writer Dani Blum found one patient who called or went by his CVS Pharmacy 25 days in a row waiting for his prescription to be refilled. The F.D.A. said the supply issues should be resolved in the next 30 to 60 days.

A Headline From History

SCREEN: 'STAR WARS' MINIATURIZED

November 17, 1978. The Japanese science-fiction film "Message From Space" hit theaters in New York City, and The Times's critic Janet Maslin was not impressed. The " 'Star Wars' knockoff," she wrote, was "pleasantly indecipherable" and suited "for archivists with an interest in the all-time worsts." According to the review, the film's spaceships looked like thinly cloaked miniatures and a planet appeared to be "made up of big gray hunks of papier-mâché." The rest of the galaxy wasn't much better: "The meteors resemble intergalactic lint," and the Earth, "a big, blue volleyball with eczema." The movie, rated PG, was "no more violent than 'Star Wars,' which also carried a PG rating," she noted. "And its action scenes are a good deal more confusing."

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Facts of Interest

According to Spotify, half its users around the world stream at least one Latin song each month.

Bad Bunny Anchors an Explosive Year For Latin Music C3

Hundreds of thousands of high school students in 3,500 high schools across the country are enrolled in Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or J.R.O.T.C., programs.

Military Cites More Abuse By J.R.O.T.C. Instructors A17

For her work on the 2018 film "Black Panther," the costume designer Ruth E. Carter became the first Black woman to win an Academy Award for best costume design.

Dressing Wakanda to Seize a Vision D3

Willets Point in Queens, once the largest collection of auto repair shops and scrap yards in New York City, was the dumping ground that inspired the "valley of ashes" in F. Scott Fitzgerald's "The Great Gatsby."

Stadium Deal for New York City F.C. Would Give Mets a Neighbor In Queens B9

Retail sales rose 1.3 percent in October, the Department of Commerce said, boosted by the earlier-than-usual holiday deals that enticed shoppers last month.

Wallet Open, but on Hunt For Bargains B1

The Drone Racing League, which began in 2016, is a professional sports group that pits 12 of the world's top drone pilots against one another in 14 events per season.

Young Drone Pilots Energize A New Sport D8

The Mini Crossword

■	1	2	3	■
4				5
6				
7				
8				

11/17/2022 BY CHRISTINA IVERSON EDITED BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS
1 "Exit full screen" computer key
4 Syrup flavor
6 Deodorant brand whose name sounds like a synonym for "dry"
7 Arm holder for a harmed shoulder
8 Danish concept of cozy contentment

DOWN
1 Before the deadline
2 Small amount of parsley
3 Hold on tightly (to)
4 Prepare, as potatoes for Thanksgiving
5 Sharp part of a blade

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

■	■	S	K	A
■	A	H	A	B
C	U	R	R	Y
D	R	U	M	S
S	A	G	A	S



BETH WALROND

Reader Corner

From the Comments Forum

Can artificial intelligence create a better Thanksgiving menu than people can? The Food and Cooking reporter Priya Krishna recently put that question to the test, preparing and serving to four Times Cooking columnists a holiday spread composed entirely of recipes created by a technology called GPT-3. The experiment yielded dishes that fell far short of the testers' tastes — yet piqued the curiosity of Times readers, many of whom shared their thoughts in the article's comments forum. Below, read a selection of edited responses.

I could see this as a useful tool for creativity: Hmm, miso on green beans, could that be good? If you have some time and are feeling experimental, you could certainly read an A.I.-generated recipe and look for some out-of-the-box ideas to borrow. But for following recipes that actually need to be good? No way.
— RACHEL CAREY, CRANFORD, N.J.

Remember when video games represented a Ping-Pong paddle with a straight line and the ball was a square? This recipe technology will improve to a point that first floors us and then quickly becomes as routine as asking the air to switch our lights to evening mode. But even when A.I. can whip up flavor combos we never dreamed of, it will never replicate the connection we get from standing alongside a parent cooking a recipe from a handwritten card passed down through the generations. Will we be smart or lucky enough to hang onto one while developing the other?
— MARTIN KRAMER, AUSTIN, TEXAS

I don't care who comes up with the recipe. Does anyone have a robot who can cook it all for me while I go out for a walk?
— KATIE SANBORN, EL GRANADA, CALIF.

In Our Inbox

Excerpts From New York Times Newsletters



TANVEER BADAL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The La Brea Tar Pits & Museum in Los Angeles is home to over 3.5 million ice age fossils.

Adam Popescu, a Los Angeles-based reporter, recently wrote a Times article about a rebranding effort at the city's La Brea Tar Pits & Museum. Curators there are drawing parallels between the conditions that killed off mastodons, mammoths and other large mammals at the end of the ice age, and the fires, drought and extreme heat California is experiencing today. Soumya Karlamangla, who writes the California Today newsletter, talked with Mr. Popescu about the site. Below is an edited excerpt from their conversation.

It seems like connecting previous calamities to today's climate is a bleak way to try to get people to come to a museum.

The hope is that it can be a more robust institution — it can show you the excavation process and reframe the way we look at climate so we see that these changes aren't just trapped in time. They're happening now. And, hopefully, this can influence the next generation of young scientists to take an interest in climate.

What are some things we still have to learn about this period? And what was Los Angeles like at the time?

They've found millions of fossils in the tar pits, but the remains of only one human. Yet we know that people were living here at the time. Why is it that there were no people found here but all of this evidence of animal life?

At that time, a lot of the early California people were coastal. So there are all of these competing theories: Were people avoiding the megafauna? Were they creating fires as a way to hunt them? Or was this just too far inland?

There are so many questions. As a researcher, as a reporter, as an Angeleno, it's utterly fascinating. And it shows that in our lifetimes we're probably going to learn so much more about this region, the culture, the climate — that really speaks to who we are as people living here.

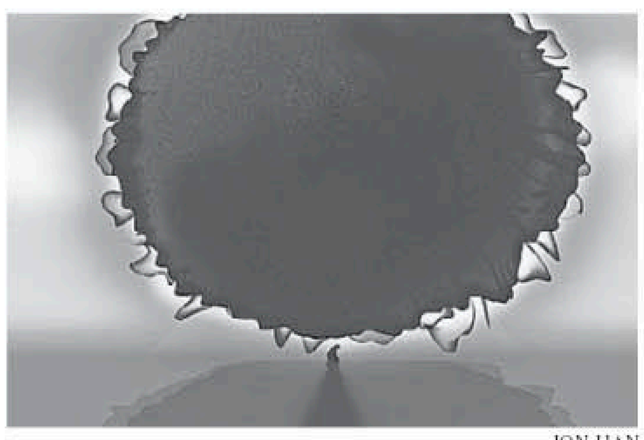
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Here to Help

How to Identify and Treat Depression After Covid

In a 2021 study, more than half of American adults reported symptoms of major depressive disorder after a coronavirus infection. The risk of developing these symptoms remains high up to a year after recovery.

Compared with those who avoided infection (but also dealt with the difficult impacts of living through a pandemic), people who got sick with Covid-19 seem to be much more vulnerable to a variety of mental health problems. KNVUL SHEIKH



JON HAN

What causes depression after Covid?

A few studies have shown that the immune system goes into overdrive when some people get sick. Covid may even compromise the diversity of bacteria and microbes in the gut, which have been shown to produce neurotransmitters like serotonin and dopamine, which regulate mood.

Who is most at risk?

According to World Health Organization estimates, young people are disproportionately at risk of suicidal and self-harming behaviors after Covid. Women are more likely than men to report mental health effects after Covid. And people with preexisting physical health conditions are more likely to develop symptoms of mental disorders after Covid.

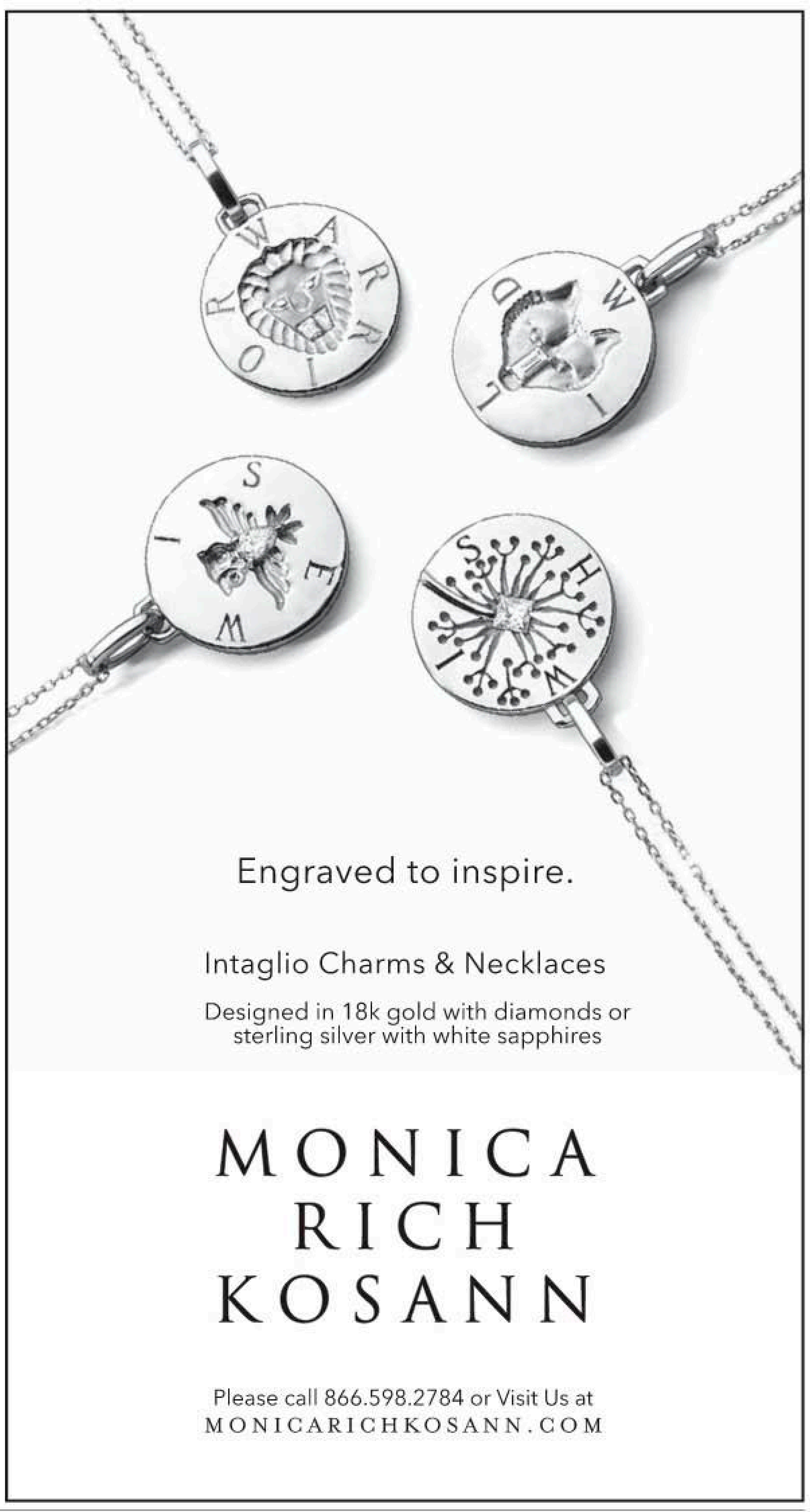
Additionally, people who experience extensive sleep disruption, social isolation or a significant change in other behaviors may be more likely to face depression. "We know that having additional stressors on your plate can predict depressive symptoms later on," said Dr. Megan Hosey, a rehabilitation psychologist.

How can you treat depression after Covid?

If you are concerned, it's important to talk to a medical or mental health professional. It is a good idea to take stock of your diet, sleep and drug and alcohol use. Research suggests that exercise and meditation may also help heal the mind. But if behavioral changes don't work, a professional can recommend therapy or medication.

After infection, "give yourself a little bit of a break and be patient," Dr. Hosey said.

For more wellness advice, visit nytimes.com/well.







Sudden, Deadly Reminder of War in a Quiet Corner of Poland

Confusion and Fear After a Missile Blast

By MONIKA PRONCZUK



EVGENIY MALOLETKA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Investigators scoured the fields near the village of Przewodow, Poland, looking for parts of a missile that exploded on Tuesday, leaving two farmworkers dead.

PRZEWODOW, Poland — Lying amid sprawling corn fields, the tiny village of Przewodow and its 500 residents are accustomed to a quiet existence, even with a war raging across the border in Ukraine, just a few miles away. So when a missile exploded nearby on Tuesday night, Iwona Margol said she felt a surge of panic.

"There was a sudden huge 'kaboom'," she said. "It was unclear if we should pack, flee, or what to do in general. Will we sleep through the night, will we live to see the next morning?"

In the first hours after the missile slammed into a grain silo, killing two local residents and raising alarms about the war spilling outside Ukraine, she was far from alone in her fears. Western officials have since concluded that the missile was in all likelihood fired by a Ukrainian air defense system, not by Russia. That may have eased global fears, but anxiety levels remain higher in Przewodow and its neighboring region than at any time since the early weeks of the war.

Scores of Polish soldiers and police officers descended on the village, which consists of a couple of colorful, Soviet-style block houses, a school, a grocery store and a farm, blocking access to anyone except residents. Drones and a helicopter buzzed overhead. A four-day period of mourning was announced and the local school shut its doors, offering counseling to teachers, students and parents.

Ms. Margol, a school cafeteria cook, said she did not sleep at all on Tuesday night, as the blast brought back tensions from the early days of the war. And not just for her; students and teachers at the school where she works are "disheartened and worried," she said.

When the war first erupted next door, residents rushed to supermarkets and gas stations to stock up on supplies, worried about a possible spillover of violence. Ukrainian refugees streaming over the border in the tens of thousands were a vivid reminder of the physical proximity of the war.

"We are living just next to the border, so these sentiments have been heightened since Feb. 24," said Marta Majewska, the mayor of the neighboring town of Hrubieszow.

But in recent months, with western Ukraine largely spared from the fighting and the streams of refugees turning into a trickle, Ms. Majewska said that local anxieties had subsided.

"People have been worried more about local problems, such as inflation and the lack of coal," she said, noting that Poland's inflation rate hit 18 percent recently, with even higher levels predicted.

But then came Tuesday's blasts. Although there was no panic shopping, the customers in a grocery store in the nearby town of Wisznow spoke of nothing else, said Iwona Okopinska, the store's owner.

The victims were two men in their 60s, both farmworkers. One, a tractor driver, had just come back from the field with a load of corn when the missile hit at around 4 p.m. local time on Tuesday.

"We are terrified by this situation," Grzegorz Drewnik, the governor of the surrounding region of Dolhobyczow, told the local media. "I knew the people that were killed. They were very decent members of our community."

Przewodow is in one of Poland's poorest areas, with small villages scattered across fields and forests, many of them, like Przewodow, former collective farms under communism. Like other rural areas of Poland it suffered high levels of unemployment after the Communist regime collapsed in 1989, with mass emigration to Polish cities and, after Poland joined the European Union in 2004, to Western Europe.

In eastern Poland, the war in Ukraine also stirs painful memories of World War II, when it was occupied first by the Nazis, then the Soviets, and then by the Nazis again. Before 1939, the population of the village was evenly split between Poles and Ukrainians, including a substantial Jewish population.



OMAR MARQUES/GETTY IMAGES

A church in Przewodow, which is in one of Poland's poorest regions. Residents there have welcomed thousands of refugees who fled the war in Ukraine.

A sense of security is stripped away in a tiny village, even as global fears start to subside.

The broader Lubelskie region including Przewodow is now home to over 60,000 Ukrainian refugees, and the shock waves of the blast smashed their newly acquired, fragile sense of security.

Vitalik, 15, is a mentally disabled orphan who was evacuated together with 40 others from an orphanage for children with special needs in Zaturce, in western Ukraine, in the first weeks of the war. When he heard about the explosions, he ran to his caretakers asking whether they have to flee, ready to pack his teddy bear.

"All their traumatic experiences came back yesterday evening," said Piotr Zygarski, the head of the foundation, Honor In Helping Children, that evacuated the children to a hotel in Kaweczynek, some 40 miles from Przewodow.

When the children arrived, they fled for cover every time they heard American military airplanes, which are stationed in a nearby town, Mr. Zygarski said. But after months in psychological care, they started behaving like children their age: playing, dancing, and having fun. All that changed last night.

"It fell on us from the sky," he said of the news about the blast. "It was a shock, to us and to the children. We kept telling them they could feel safe in Poland. And this sense of security has been shattered."

Ms. Margol, the cook from the school kitchen, said she was now deeply worried that war might come to Poland. When Volodymyr, a city in western Ukraine 30 miles across the border was shelled, she was volunteering at the border crossing.

"I heard it and I saw the reaction of these Ukrainians," she said. "You just can't forget these faces, it's hard to explain it in words. Honestly, I am worried that this may come to us, God forbid."

Ada Petriczko and Anatol Magdziarz contributed reporting from Warsaw.

What It Would Mean if Poland Invoked NATO's Article 4

By MICHAEL CROWLEY

As the investigation into a deadly explosion in Polish territory continues, Poland's government has reserved the right to invoke Article 4 of NATO's treaty, a provision that enables members to start a formal discussion within the alliance about threats to their security.

In the immediate aftermath of Tuesday's explosion, Poland suggested it might turn to Article 4. In the end, given the likelihood that the missile was Ukrainian, Poland refrained from doing so — but left open the possibility that it might do so later.

Article 4 does not commit the alliance to any military or political action, but simply states that the alliance's members "will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened."

An Article 4 discussion would, however, be a necessary first step toward a NATO decision to invoke Article 5, the treaty's core provision, which defines NATO's commitment to collective self-defense by treating an attack on one member as an attack on the entire alliance.

Although an invocation of Article 5 is often assumed to have military implications, the wording in the NATO treaty says only that its members will "assist" the party that has been attacked with "such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." The alliance can also respond with economic or political action.

NATO was created after World War II to serve as a Western bulwark against the Soviet Union. Poland has been a NATO member since 1999. Ukraine is not a member, but in 2008, NATO promised Ukraine eventual membership, without specifying when. The Russian president has called the expansion of NATO menacing, and the prospect of Ukraine joining it a major threat.

According to NATO's description of its consultation process, a discussion set off by Article 4 would be conducted by the North Atlantic Council, NATO's decision-making body.

Article 4 has been invoked seven times since the alliance's founding in 1949, according to NATO. It said the most recent instance was on Feb. 24, when several of its Central European members initiated discussion about Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Turkey has requested Article 4 discussions several times in recent years, including after 33 of its soldiers were killed by pro-Syrian government forces in Syria in September 2020. NATO's secretary general issued a statement condemning the Syrian regime and its allied Russian forces for conducting "indiscriminate airstrikes," but the alliance took no formal action.

NATO has invoked Article 5 only once in its history, the day after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the United States. That led to NATO's participation in the U.S.-led war and occupation in Afghanistan from 2003 to 2021.


POLISH POLICE, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



OMAR MARQUES/GETTY IMAGES

A handout photograph from the police, above left, shows the crater left by the missile in the village. The government in Warsaw sent in soldiers and police officers, and offered counseling to residents.


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Charlotte, aged 9.
Igloo-shaped Arctic Freezer
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NEWS ANALYSIS

Blast in Poland Shows the Knife's-Edge Margin for Escalation

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BRUSSELS — The intense reaction Tuesday night to the likely false alarm about a Russian missile striking a NATO ally, Poland, was a sobering reminder — if one were needed — of the risks that an already brutal conflict in Ukraine could escalate into a wider war that brings Russia and NATO into military confrontation.

There are essentially two concerns. One is that a long, bitter war with forces battling on the ground, and missiles and shells flying through the air, will create accidents and incidents that can become something bigger — for instance, if it were clear that Russia had hit a NATO country, even if by accident, as was the initial fear Tuesday.

The second, and probably more dangerous prospect, is that Russia might calculate that the use of nuclear weapons would provide it some advantage, either militarily or politically, to divide the trans-Atlantic alliance and cause civilian panic.

That fear was underlined by the visit to Ankara, the Turkish capital, on Monday by William Burns, the director of the C.I.A., to speak with his Russian counterpart, Sergei Y. Naryshkin, head of Russia's SVR foreign intelligence service, to warn Russia again about the consequences of any use of nuclear weapons. Mr. Burns then went to Kyiv to reassure the Ukrainians that the United States was not negotiating with Russia behind the back of Ukraine.

"The escalation anxiety is very real," said Jeremy Shapiro, a former American official who is research director for the European Council on Foreign Relations. "The U.S. government takes it quite seriously, and is more worried about intentional escalation than about accidental escalation."

"There is a sense of the Russian regime as risk-accepting, so if they are afraid of losing the war and their own survival, and see an opening to make a difference in the military or psychological realm, to weaken Western resolve, they won't hesitate to use nuclear weapons," Mr. Shapiro said.

Mr. Burns's mission, he suggested, was to alter Russia's risk calculus, to make sure Russia understood that "the risk you'd be taking is a lot bigger than what you think it is, and by the way, we know your decision-making and where you are on this, and whatever benefit you think you'll get won't happen."

Any war brings with it increasing risk of accident and escalation, said Ian Lesser, director of the Brussels office of the German Marshall Fund. "The sheer number of forces in close proximity and the length of the conflict, with no sign of abating, accumulates risk in the entire region," he said, for both NATO and Russia.

Ukrainian officials and some of their European backers were quick to accuse Russia of intentionally firing a missile into Poland on Tuesday, causing an explosion that killed two people. But by early Wednesday, NATO and Poland said that what had detonated a few miles outside Ukraine's border most likely was a remnant of a Ukrainian surface-to-air missile, one of many fired in attempts to shoot down Russian missiles.

U.S. officials, who had cautioned on Tuesday against rushing to judgment, said they accepted that conclusion but still held Russia responsible as the aggressor.

For his part, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine said Wednesday that he was unconvinced by the initial findings and that he still believed a Russian missile was involved.

Noting that contrast, the Kremlin spokesman, Dmitri S. Peskov, paid a rare compliment to the Biden administration. "In this case, it makes sense to pay attention to the restrained and far more professional response of the American side," he said.

The heightened and sometimes hasty reactions on Tuesday night were a warning, Mr. Lesser said. And the Cold War institutions that managed such risk have been deteriorating in recent years. "That was part of the logic of the Burns conversation, to try to establish some means of strategic stability," Mr. Lesser said.

But it is not hard to imagine a Russian missile taking down a NATO plane over Poland, even if by accident, said Bruno Tertrais, deputy director of France's Foundation for Strategic Research. "This is what Clausewitz," the 19th-century Prussian general and theoretician of war, "called 'friction,' and the more time that passes the more the risk accumulates," he said.

But despite Russia's large-scale use of weapons on civilian infrastructure and "its apparent attempt to escalate horizontally by disruption of energy supplies," he said, "we need to acknowledge that outside Ukraine Russia has kept a cool head despite hot rhetoric." So even after eight months, Mr. Tertrais said, "escalation to the extremes remains a low risk."

Norbert Röttgen, a member of the German Parliament and foreign-affairs expert, said that the war in Ukraine was "concerning and precarious," but that the United States and Poland had responded to the explosion in Poland with "cool heads." The alliance must act on facts, he said. "No one wants escalation," he said, noting that the president of Russia, Vladimir V. Putin, has been careful so far "not to touch NATO."

Mr. Röttgen warned against giving too much credence to the theory that Mr. Putin must not be "cornered" lest he do something irrational. "This is part of Putin's narrative and he's successful at it, to say, 'You in the West can't even wish I lose this war because I will become totally unpredictable and irrational, so don't wish for my defeat.'"

Analyzing Mr. Putin is important, but "the main lesson is that he must not be rewarded for this war, which has turned into a war crime," Mr. Röttgen said. Mr. Putin has turned from a military conflict, which was not going well, "to a brutal war of ruthless destruction of Ukraine and its civilian structures," he said. "He's retreating in the war and committing war crimes instead."

Radoslaw Sikorski, a former Polish defense and foreign minister, and now a European legislator, said that even if what came down on Polish soil Tuesday was a Ukrainian missile, "the larger truth is that what happened is a direct result of Russia's completely unacceptable attack on Ukraine's civilian infrastructure, which is a war crime."

Russia is not only a state sponsor of terrorism but now a terrorist state, he said, and if nothing else, Tuesday's attack should prompt Poland and NATO to strengthen their own air defenses. He noted that one of NATO's key hubs for supplying Ukraine is in Rzeszow, Poland, near where the missile landed and less than 100 miles from Lviv, the largest city in western Ukraine.

"At the very least you can do more to protect Poland," he said, "and if you put air defense on the border, you can probably protect Lviv, too."

The issue fueling anxiety around escalation, Mr. Shapiro said, is that "Russia is losing the war, but no one is really winning it." The United States should be trying to convince Mr. Putin that he is losing the war in any case, whether he does so with nuclear weapons or without them, and that there is another, less dangerous, negotiated path to the war's end that does not put his regime or Russia itself into jeopardy.

"You don't want to put him into a corner, but to raise the sense of risk, while lowering his sense that he needs to take the risk," he said.

After all, Mr. Shapiro said, if Russia does use a nuclear weapon, "it will only happen because we're winning the war."



WOJTEK JARGILO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Soldiers in Przewodow, Poland, on Wednesday, a day after a missile strike there killed two people.

Poland Calls Missile Strike That Killed 2 An Accident

From Page A1

Poland's president, Andrzej Duda, called the missile strike an "unfortunate accident" and said: "We have no evidence at the moment that it was a rocket launched by Russian forces. However, there are many indications that it was a missile that was used by Ukraine's antimissile defense."

Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, said his country bore no blame. "I have no doubt that it was not our rocket," he told reporters in Kyiv, according to the Interfax news agency. Mr. Zelensky has appeared intent on capitalizing on the episode; on Tuesday, alluding to Poland's membership in NATO, he accused Russia of an "attack on collective security."

In the hours after the explosion in the village of Przewodow, about four miles from the Ukrainian border, top Polish officials said they were leaning toward invoking Article 4 of the NATO charter, under which members confer when a nation's territorial integrity or security has been threatened.

But there was little talk of that on Wednesday. After a night of intense discussion, confusion and fear about whether Russia had somehow attacked a NATO ally, the results of the inquiry so far seemed to lower the temperature.

After meeting with the alliance's envoys in Brussels, Mr. Stoltenberg stressed that there was no indication of a deliberate attack by Russia or of any Russian plans to attack a NATO member, meaning that the alliance's commitment to collective defense was not at issue. U.S. officials said they had accepted the preliminary conclusions of Poland and NATO.

Neither Russia nor NATO wants to go to war with the other. Even as NATO members have sent military aid to Ukrainian forces, both sides have shown considerable restraint in trying to avoid direct confrontation and keep the war from spilling over into neighboring countries.

Russia has denied responsibility for the explosion, saying that it did not aim any missiles near the border with Poland on Tuesday. On Wednesday, it appeared content with the statements coming out of the West.

"One should never rush to pronounce judgments and statements that can escalate the situation, still more so at such crucial moments," said Dmitri S. Peskov, the Kremlin's spokesman. "No hasty statements should be made before receiving accurate information."

Mr. Peskov even offered some praise for a Russian adversary.

"In this case, it makes sense to pay attention to the restrained and far more professional response of the American side and the American president," he said. President Biden said early Wednesday after an emergency meeting of allies in Indonesia that preliminary evidence showed the missile had not been fired from Russia.

Still, critical details about what actually transpired have yet to be clarified. There are questions about the trajectory of the missile that hit the grain-processing plant and whether it might have been aiming at — or had hit — a Russian missile in flight.

Mr. Duda said investigators had found no sign that a warhead detonated when the missile came down, suggesting that the blast had involved "explosion of the fuel that remained."

The explosion occurred as Ukrainian military forces were responding to one of the biggest Russian missile barrages since the war began in February. Much of the attack was aimed at crippling Ukraine's energy infrastructure, and on Wednesday it was clear that Moscow had done significant damage.

"Burned residential buildings, destroyed power plants again, hundreds of cities were left without electricity, water and heat," Mr. Zelensky said in a virtual address to the Group of 20 summit in Indonesia on Wednesday. "Internet traffic has fallen by two-thirds — imagine the scale."

The aerial assault left millions of people without power, compromised the connection of two nuclear plants to Ukraine's national grid and prompted the national energy utility to impose sweeping blackouts.

In the western Lviv region, to which millions of people have moved in an effort to escape the fighting, central heating was suspended and there was no hot water in the main city as of Wednesday morning. In Kryvyi Rih, in central Ukraine, engineers at pumping stations were relying on generators to keep the water flowing.

Gen. Mark A. Milley, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, denounced the barrage of up to 100 missiles fired on Tuesday at civilian infrastructure. "The deliberate targeting of the civilian power grid, causing excessive collateral damage and unnecessary suffering on the civilian population, is a war crime," he said at a Pentagon news briefing.

General Milley said that Russia, in his view, could not achieve its military goals. The probability of Russia conquering Ukraine, he said, is "close to zero."

But he said that Ukraine would find it difficult to achieve outright victory, as defined by driving Russia out of all of its territory, including Crimea, in the near future. Russia still has significant combat power in Ukraine, he said, despite its military setbacks.

Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin III, standing beside General Milley, demurred when asked if he shared that assessment, hinting at continued disagreement within the Biden administration about the course of the war.

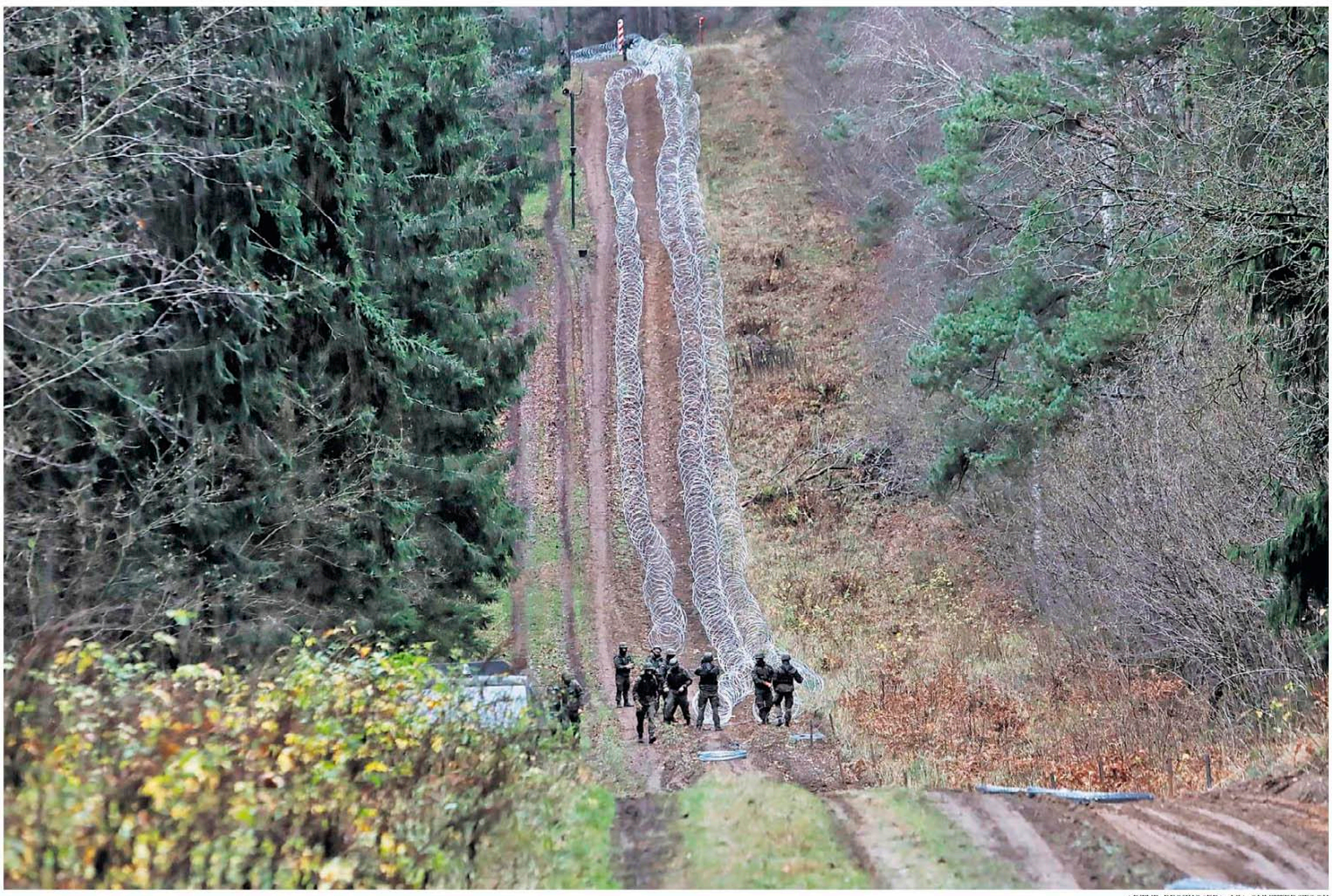
"There are countless numbers of people that have been amazed and astonished by what the Ukrainians have accomplished," said Mr. Austin, a former four-star Army general. "So I won't presuppose what's possible or impossible for them."

In Bali, as the Group of 20 meeting wound up on Wednesday, world leaders struggled to find common ground on the war in Ukraine in their closing statement, making clear the gulf between Western nations and other countries on Russia's actions.

The summit did not result in the customary joint communiqué, but the officials agreed on a "leaders' declaration." The statement said that "most members strongly condemned the war in Ukraine," but that "there were other views and different assessments of the situation and sanctions."

Major powers like India and China have been unwilling to join the Western-led sanctions against Moscow, and Indonesia's president, Joko Widodo, the chairman of this year's summit, described the paragraph on the war as the most "highly debated."

Steven Erlanger reported from Brussels, and Marc Santora from Kyiv, Ukraine. Reporting was contributed by Lara Jakes from Rome; John Ismay from Washington; Matthew Mpoke Bigg from London; Sui-Lee Wee from Bali, Indonesia; and Carly Olson from New York.



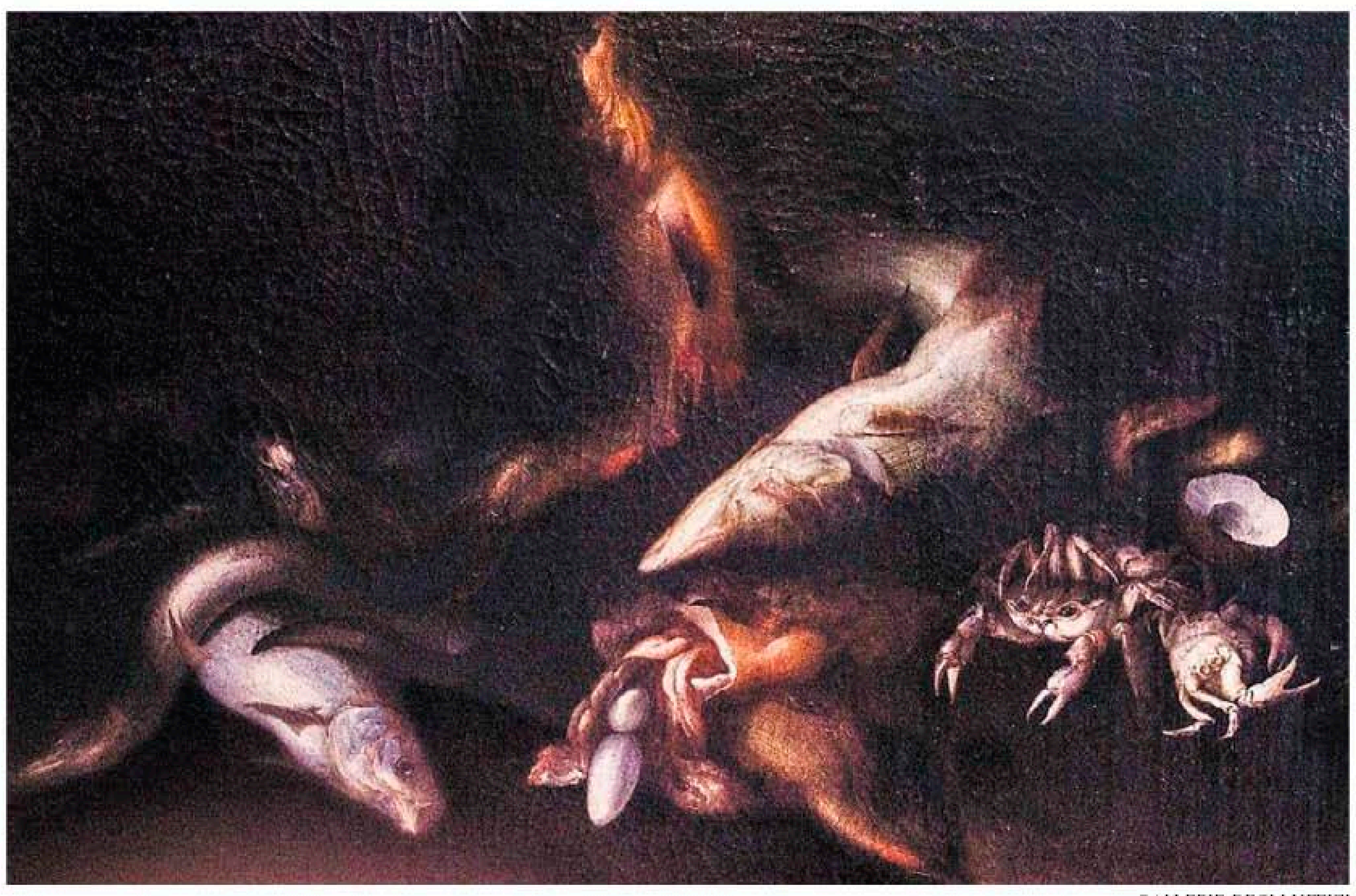
ARTUR RESZKO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK



VIA REUTERS

Above, Polish soldiers in northeastern Poland near the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad. Left, a piece of what is thought to be a missile in Przewodow, Poland, in a photo taken from social media.


GALLERIE DEGLI UFFIZI


GALLERIE DEGLI UFFIZI

A landscape by Jona Ostiglio, a Jewish painter who was mostly unknown until now. Right, "Still Life With Fish and Crabs, Church of San Michele in San Salvi."

Discovering a Jewish Artist Who Broke Barriers in Medici-Era Florence

By ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

ROME — The life of Jews in 17th-century Florence was quite constrained. They were confined to a ghetto, a cramped area about the size of a football field that housed about 200 families.

They could work only in certain professions, like rag-picking, and were not allowed to join professional guilds or corporations, which would have opened the door to fields like architecture. Their interactions with Christians were strictly regulated.

This is why scholars are puzzling over the life of the Jewish painter Jona Ostiglio, a card-carrying member of a prestigious academy founded by the famed artist Giorgio Vasari. A painter at the Medici court, Ostiglio's existence was practically unknown until now.

"It's quite a discovery," Eike Schmidt, the director of the Uffizi Gallery, said on Wednesday ahead of a lecture seeking to extract Ostiglio and his work from historical oblivion. Several pieces attributed to Ostiglio are in the Uffizi's world-famous collection. "We knew practically nothing about this artist," Mr. Schmidt added, "an artist without works. "

Ostiglio, who is believed to have been born between 1620 and 1630 and to have died after 1695, was a professional painter working in Florence for some of the Italian city's most powerful families at a time when Jews were not normally given such opportunities.

"Was he an exception to the rules or was it more commonplace at the time than we know — that's this question that remains open," said Piergabriele Mancuso, the director of the Jewish studies program of the Medici Archive Project, who presented his findings at the Uffizi on Wednesday.

Professor Mancuso came across Ostiglio while researching an exhibition on the Jewish ghetto of Florence that will be hosted by the Uffizi late next year. He cobbled together a profile of Ostiglio from literary and archival sources.

The artist began painting relatively late in life for that era, starting in his early 30s. Self-taught, he was so good at copying the great masters that one chronicler said it was impossible to tell his copies from the originals. He was associated with a bustling painting studio in Florence and caused some scandal because of a tormented love affair he had with a young and rich Christian widow that nearly cost him his life at the hands of a monk. (It's a long story.)

A member of the Academy of Fine Arts comes to light.

"The idea we have is of a Jew that is unique, quite familiar with the Christian environment and unafraid to distance himself from rabbinical laws that would have him behave in a more orthodox manner," Professor Mancuso said. "His behavior was outside Jewish and Christian society of the time."

Comparing detailed descriptions of his works with paintings flagged by Maria Sframeli, an art historian and curator at the Uffizi, Professor Mancuso was able to track down eight works he believes Ostiglio painted. They include still lives of fish and several landscape paintings.

"I'm so pleased that this painter was able to emerge," Ms. Sframeli said. "Now we have brought to light some of his works."

Ostiglio also painted the huge family tree of Florence's aristocratic Mannelli family that hangs in the reading room of the state archives in the city, confirmation that he was working for Florence's noble clans, "and that he was appreciated," Professor Mancuso said.

Scholars in Italy portrayed the research on Ostiglio as historically significant.

"Jews weren't allowed to become goldsmiths or painters or be part of any guild, so it's quite extraordinary," said Andreina Contessa, director of the historical museum of the Miramare Castle and Park in Trieste and former chief curator of the Nahon Museum of Italian Jewish Art in Jerusalem

Silvana Greco, a professor of the sociology of Judaism at the Freie Universität Berlin and the co-curator of a 2019 exhibition on Jews and Renaissance art, said Ostiglio's story underlined the interactions that existed between Jews and Christians and the importance of Jewish culture in various artistic forms, "including painting."

"Even though the life of the Jewish and Catholic world was divided, there could be constructive exchanges," she said.

Professor Mancuso said Ostiglio was not the only Jewish artist working in Italy at the time.


GALLERIE DEGLI UFFIZI

Ostiglio worked in 17th-century Florence for some of the city's most powerful families.

But because of restrictions, Jews were relegated to more artisanal tasks. Ostiglio, on the other hand, was a professional painter and recognized as such.

"The rule was that they couldn't enter guilds — not that they couldn't work; they could, but they worked without signing their names," said Ms. Contessa, citing the scribes who worked on illuminated manuscripts. (Guilds were professional associations for trades.)

Professor Mancuso cited Jewish sculptors working in both wood and marble. But they were considered artisans, not artists, he said.

Professor Mancuso said that as far as he knew, until the 20th century, Ostiglio remained the only Jewish member of the prestigious Academy of Fine Arts, founded by Vasari and sponsored by the Medici grand dukes.

"The academy represented the highest level of institutional art and of the Medici, so being a member was extremely important," said Giulio Busi, a professor of Jewish studies at the University of Berlin.

New research will examine the archives of other Florentine families to see whether other works by the artist emerge. "It will take time, but it's not impossible," Professor Mancuso said.

"Perhaps someone has a painting by Jona Ostiglio at home," Mr. Schmidt, of the Uffizi, joked.

British Report Details Numerous Security Risks

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — Iran has tried to kill or kidnap at least 10 critics based in Britain since the start of the year, the head of the British security service said on Wednesday as he underscored perceived threats from a diverse range of sources, including Russia, China and Islamist and far-right terrorists at home.

Giving an annual update of security risks to Britain, Ken McCallum, the director general of MI5, described Iran as the state actor that "most frequently crosses into terrorism," and one willing to resort to violence to silence its opponents.

The disclosure followed assertions that two British-based journalists working for a TV station, Iran International, had been informed by London's Metropolitan Police of threats to their lives. That disclosure prompted an official warning from Britain's foreign ministry to Iran's most senior diplomat in London.

But against the backdrop of the war in Ukraine and rising tensions with China, Mr. McCallum acknowledged that Britain's intelligence services faced a challenge in setting priorities. For example, it must balance efforts to stop "teenage would-be terrorists radicalized in extreme right-wing spaces online" against protecting Britain's "military secrets from Russian cyberhackers."

The complexity of the multiple threats the country faces was, he said, "huge."

Peter Neumann, a professor of security studies at King's College London, said the increased activity from Iranian agents was most likely linked to concerns about the growing protest movement within the country.

He added that the range of threats cited by Mr. McCallum illustrated a change in the focus of British security services in recent years — away from Islamist terrorism toward a broader range of actors.

"You can feel the difference — that speech would not have been given in that way in 2020 or even 2021," Professor Neumann said. "It has been a rapid shift, a real change," he added, noting that while the threat from Islamist terrorism still persisted, it "feels like it has decreased a lot."


YUI MOK/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA A.P.

Ken McCallum, the head of MI5, said Iran, Russia and China all posed a threat.

Much of the speech, delivered at M15's headquarters in London, focused on threats from Russia, whose aggression, Mr. McCallum said, would challenge Britain for years to come.

Western nations are responding, he said, noting that 600 Russian officials — of whom 400 were judged to be spies — had been expelled from Europe in what he called "the most significant strategic blow against the Russian intelligence services in recent European history."

The scale of those expulsions, together with the rollout of Western economic sanctions designed to isolate Russia, had proved a surprisingly potent test for Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, he added.

Well before Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Britain was especially sensitive to the activities of Russian agents, and its pushback against Moscow's spy networks intensified after the nerve agent poisoning of Sergei V. Skripal, the former Russian agent, and his daughter, Yulia, in Salisbury, England, in 2018.

Since that episode prompted Britain to expel 23 Russian diplomats on espionage grounds, it has refused 100 diplomatic visa applications from Moscow.

But Russia is continuing to use an extensive range of disruptive tactics, including cyberattacks, disinformation, espionage and interference in democratic processes. It has also sought to deploy the wealth of its oligarchs, many of them British-based, to peddle influence.

Tensions with China have also increased lately. But in contrast to Moscow, Beijing appears to be playing a more subtle and strategic "long game," Mr. McCallum said. Not only is it seeking to co-opt and influence Britain's lawmakers across the political divide, but it is also cultivating contacts early in their careers in public life, hoping to build a debt of obligation to exploit later.

Nonetheless, opponents among the Chinese diaspora in Britain have been subject to the sort of harassment and coercion seen recently when a pro-democracy protester was attacked at the Chinese Consulate in Manchester. In that clash, the protester, a supporter of democracy in Hong Kong, said he was dragged inside the consulate grounds by masked men and then kicked and punched.

As for Islamist and far-right homegrown terrorism, the authorities have foiled 37 planned attacks since 2017, including eight in the past 12 months, MI5 said.

Investigations of Islamist terrorism make up around three-quarters of the British security service's terror-related caseload. Even relatively unsophisticated plots have proved deadly, including the fatal stabbing of the Conservative Party lawmaker David Amess in 2021 in Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, east of London.

Terrorism motivated by extreme right-wing ideology has continued to evolve away from structured groups toward a more diffuse online threat, Mr. McCallum said.

"From the comfort of their bedrooms, individuals are easily able to access right-wing extremist spaces, network with each other and move toward a radical mindset," he said.

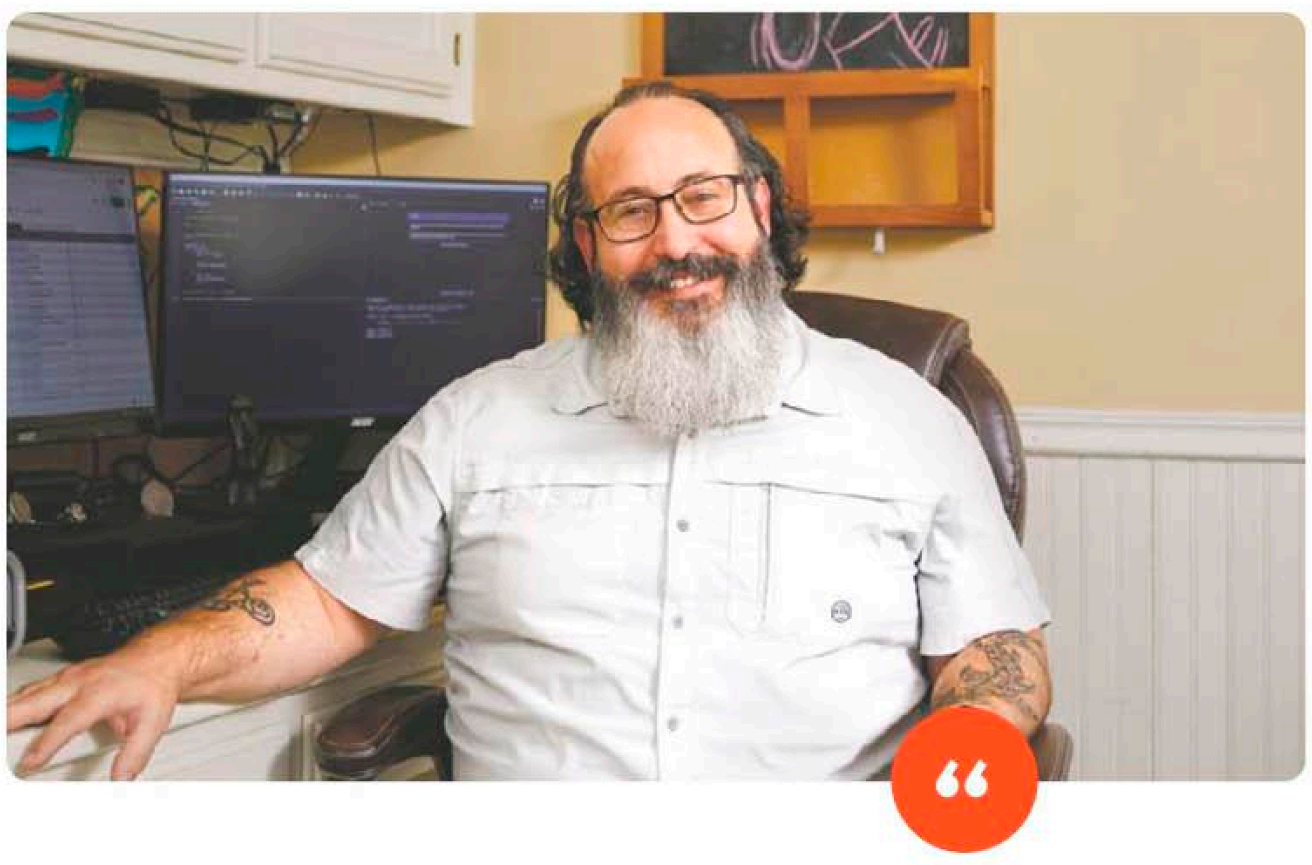
Investigators have seen increased efforts among right-wing agitators to gain access to weapons, particularly firearms, including homemade or 3-D printed models.

"We are seeing growing numbers of right-wing extremist influencers, operating globally, fueling grievances and amplifying conspiracy theories," said Mr. McCallum. "This problem feels like it will endure."

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They Called Him a Gangster Out for Revenge. The Evidence? **6 Text Messages.**









From Preceding Page

labeled a gang member, prosecutors said, were six text messages that he had sent when he was 17. Six texts sent within 20 minutes.

With that, he fell into the depths of a criminal justice system in Britain that, by several measures, disproportionately prosecutes and jails Black people. Black people are six times more likely to be stopped and searched than white people, and three times more likely to be arrested. A 2021 bipartisan parliamentary report found years of systemic failure to improve the country's troubled record on policing and race.

Prosecutors have broad latitude when it comes to calling someone a gang member, a designation that legal experts say helps persuade jurors of guilt and can be used to seek longer sentences. With no clear, legal definition for a gang, the label tends to be applied disproportionately to groups of young Black men. In London, for example, nearly 80 percent of people in a police gang database are Black.

To dismantle gangs, the Crown Prosecution Service, the public body in charge of prosecutions in England and Wales, tells prosecutors that "consideration should be given to conspiracy charges in order to demonstrate the overall criminality."

Doing so gives prosecutors key advantages. They can charge people who have done little or nothing to carry out a crime, and they can introduce evidence that might otherwise be excluded. In Mr. Adedeji's conspiracy trial, that meant his posts on Instagram, his Snapchat texts, even the drill rap videos he watched on YouTube could be used to paint him as a hoodlum.

Mr. Adedeji agonized over all this when he testified that morning in Manchester in what is the country's first special court for gang-related cases. He wore a white shirt, a rain jacket, and a comically short tie. He was polite to a fault and so quiet that the judge twice told him to lean closer to the microphone.

"Mr. Adedeji, you're essentially, absolutely not a member of a gang?" the junior prosecutor, Andrew Smith, asked, sounding incredulous.

"No," Mr. Adedeji answered.

"You are absolutely not a violent man?"

"No, I am not."

"You are absolutely not part of this conspiracy?"

"I am not."

Bonfire Night

Mr. Adedeji's life changed on Nov. 5, 2020, on Bonfire Night, an annual celebration commemorating a failed attempt to blow up Parliament in the 17th century. He was hanging out with friends in a supermarket parking lot when he got word that his childhood friend John Soyoye had been stabbed.

Mr. Adedeji and Mr. Soyoye grew up together in Moston, a North Manchester neighborhood where wig shops and West African cafes flank the main street. Their mothers, both from Nigeria, attended the same church, and Mr. Soyoye often went to Mr. Adedeji's home for jollof rice.

"He was a hungry kid. We both loved food." Mr. Adedeji said. "He was like my little brother."

The two were close friends and attended the same elementary school, where Mr. Adedeji at times felt a step behind. Only years later did he learn that he had dyslexia.

"I was 16, and I was still counting my fingers to do my times tables," he said. "I was battling it, and I was thinking I was dumb."

Mr. Adedeji got into fights until he broke a boy's arm in a schoolyard brawl and police officers came to his house with a warning: another violent outburst and he would go to jail.

"I thought to myself: I'm not going to get into trouble no more," Mr. Adedeji said.

He worked with a tutor to catch up in his studies and was elected as head boy, the equivalent of school president. He volunteered at local charities, representing one at the House of Commons in London.

He grew to 6-foot-2, and his friends called him Stormzy because of his vague likeness to the British rapper.

Mr. Soyoye, whom Mr. Adedeji described as "bubbly and joyful," was an up-and-coming performer of drill music, a subgenre of rap that is popular among young Britons. His rap group, M40, took its name from the first three letters of his neighborhood's postcode, the equivalent of a ZIP code.

When Mr. Adedeji saw his best friend running with troublemakers in the neighborhood, he warned him to correct course.

Jane Bradley contributed reporting.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Ademola Adedeji, above, in a park in Bolton, England, in April. Mr. Adedeji's life changed on Nov. 5, 2020, when he got word that his childhood friend, John Soyoye, had been stabbed. Roxy Legane, far left, leading a May demonstration, is a youth worker who attended court daily, standing in for parents who could not risk their paychecks. Piccadilly Gardens in Manchester, England, left center. People listened to Mr. Adedeji's mother speaking during the protest in May, near left.

> ‘I am another young Black man who has been failed by the system.’
>
> ADEMOLA ADEDEJI, in a blog post after being charged with conspiracy to murder.

"Stop chilling with these kinds of people," Mr. Adedeji recalled saying, "because you're going to get yourself into trouble."

Then came Bonfire Night. Thirteen young men from the nearby suburb of Rochdale arrived in Moston, armed with machetes, knives, a bat and a pipe, escalating a fight that had begun that afternoon over a stolen jacket. Mr. Soyoye rallied some friends for a standoff and brought a machete.

The two groups had no history of conflict, but that day they clashed outside a funeral parlor. Security camera footage shows Mr. Soyoye swinging his machete before fleeing with his friends. But stab wounds slowed Mr. Soyoye down, and nine young men cornered him and fatally "struck, stabbed, slashed and kicked him," according to a police report.

News of his friend's death rattled Mr. Adedeji. He barely ate for weeks, and a psychiatrist prescribed antidepressants. "I was going through a stage where I was upset. I was angry," Mr. Adedeji said.

Six Text Messages

Three days after Mr. Soyoye's death, Mr. Adedeji received a link inviting him to join a chat group on the Telegram app. He was the seventh and last person to join.

The first message he saw came from an acquaintance, Harry Oni, then 17, a lead rapper in M40 who, by his own admission, had taken part in the Bonfire Night fight.

The conversation quickly turned to retribution. Mr. Oni instructed everyone to stay away from a memorial for their fallen friend until "we touch something." That word — touch — would later prove contentious, but nobody disputes that it was a reference to some kind of violence.

Two seconds later, Mr. Adedeji sent the first of six texts that would ultimately be read in court as evidence against him.

"Yooo one of them man live on lime side street in Oldham," he wrote, referring to another nearby town linked to some of Mr. Soyoye's attackers.

Asked how he knew, Mr. Adedeji replied with teenage bluster. "I have my links," he said.

He texted a postcode, along with a screenshot of a map. "Drop there," he wrote.

After some unrelated banter, he sent his last text 20 minutes after joining the chat.

In the weeks after the Telegram exchange, teenagers from Moston — some in the chat group, others not — mounted a series of attacks to avenge Mr. Soyoye's death.

First, Mr. Oni and the teenager who had set up the chat group confronted two students at their high school. There were no injuries but a witness reported seeing a knife.

A month later, Mr. Oni and another teenager were captured on surveillance footage chasing an unidentified man from Rochdale. Mr. Oni struck the man twice with a machete, slicing his back, before the victim escaped into a convenience store.

Finally, four teenagers in a stolen S.U.V. chased a man to a quiet Rochdale street, hacked at him with a machete and tried to run him over, surveillance footage showed. The victim survived but refused to cooperate with the police.

None of the attacks occurred anywhere near the postcode that Mr. Adedeji had sent in the Telegram chat. Nobody who lived in that postcode was harmed either, although two suspects in Mr. Soyoye's murder were later arrested in the area.

The police and prosecutors agree that Mr. Adedeji did not participate in the violence. But that did not matter.

‘Gang War’

In February 2021, Mr. Adedeji woke before dawn to armed officers banging on his family's apartment door. They searched everywhere, including in his mother's underwear drawer, but found no weapons.

"I was shocked," Mr. Adedeji said. "I didn't know what I had done."

The police wanted to talk to him after arresting Mr. Oni for his involvement in the Bonfire Night brawl.

Mr. Adedeji cooperated, volunteering his phone for detectives to copy. He was released on bail and asked to return to give a statement after officers established that he had not been part of the brawl.

He needed help, so he turned to someone who knew the legal system better than his parents: Roxy Legane, a tall youth worker with discreet tattoos and a colorful wardrobe.

Ms. Legane, 31, had last seen Mr. Adedeji a year earlier at an event arranged by her community organization, Kids of Colour. She was struck by his emotional intelligence. "I remember thinking, ‘This kid is very sweet,’ " Ms. Legane said.

She connected him with a lawyer and accompanied him to the police station while his father waited outside.

The interview was short and friendly. When he said "not all police are bad," an officer invited him to consider joining the force, Mr. Adedeji and Ms. Legane recall. Mr. Adedeji submitted a written statement and the police said he was free to go.

With the arrest behind him, he focused on his university applications and published a book he had co-authored, featuring stories from Black teenagers across Manchester.

But the criminal case was just beginning. Detectives investigating Mr. Oni discovered the Telegram chat on his phone and sent it to an organized crime unit for review.

Neither Mr. Adedeji nor anyone else in the Telegram chat were known to the police. But investigators concluded that they'd stumbled upon a new gang, one with "a significant level of criminality" and the "structure and competence" to carry out attacks, according to a police document reviewed by The New York Times.

"They are attacking young Black males at random," the police wrote, adding, "They are in a gang war with Rochdale."

Britain has waged war on gangs since riots erupted in 2011 after the police killing of a Black man in London. Only a small fraction of people arrested during the riots turned out to be gang members but, nonetheless, a crackdown began.

In the Manchester area, where Mr. Adedeji grew up, the authorities say that they have identified about 180 gangs. After reviewing the Telegram chat and other evidence, detectives concluded that everyone involved, including Mr. Adedeji, was a gang member, the police document shows.

In early April, as he recovered from emergency appendicitis surgery, Mr. Adedeji awoke to another pre-dawn raid.

Without his pain medication, he spent 12 hours writhing in a holding cell. In a long interview, the police asked him about the M40 group. He explained that it was a collective of Moston rappers but said that he was not a member, according to a transcript of his interview. Confronted with the Telegram chat, he apologized for sending the texts in anger.

"Everyone was just talking rubbish," he told the police, who had evidence that two of the teenagers in the chat group had taken part in violent attacks. "Half of these people in there, I promise you, they would never do anything like that."

Mr. Adedeji expected to go home, as he had a month earlier. Instead, he spent nearly a week in juvenile detention, on 23-hour-a-day lockdown, charged for conspiracy to murder.

"I am another young Black man who has been failed by the system," he wrote in a blog post after he was released on bail. "The government don't want to listen to us or spend on us."

The Greater Manchester Police has a fractured relationship with Black residents, who make up about 3 percent of the nearly three million people in the region. Black people are stopped and searched at five times the rate of whites, and officers are much more likely to use force against them and to refer to their "physique" when doing so, according to the department's own report.

Police and city officials declined repeated interview requests. The police did not respond to written questions about the case, their gang policies or their own reports.

Although Mr. Adedeji described his case as another example of racial inequity, the detectives, by contrast, viewed it as a step toward restoring trust in Black neighborhoods, where the police are criticized for neglecting crimes. That is a familiar dichotomy in many British and American cities, where minority communities can simultaneously feel underprotected and overpoliced.

"It is no secret" that the Greater Manchester Police "has a reputation for failing young Black males," one officer noted in a report about the case.

That "generational failure" has discouraged victims from supporting the prosecution in the case, the officer wrote. To restore faith in the justice system, the officer added, it was vital that Mr. Adedeji and his friends be prosecuted.

It is difficult to assess Manchester's gang problem. The police received official censure for failing to record an estimated 80,000 crimes in 2020. A few violent deaths in the area made headlines the year that Mr. Soyoye was killed, fueling public concerns about gang violence. But hospital admissions for stabbings were down during that period. And nationally, crime remains on a downward trajectory.

The Trial Begins

The trial began in March this year in a Manchester "super courtroom" that had opened after a $2.5 million refurbishment intended to "get gang-related suspects in front of judges quicker," Simon Wolfson, then the courts minister, said. Seventy-one such courtrooms have been refitted across Britain to handle cases with multiple defendants.

Prosecutors had christened it a few months earlier by convicting eight young men from Rochdale in the killing of Mr. Soyoye.

Then came Mr. Adedeji's trial with 10 defendants. The judge, Justice Julian Goose, empaneled a jury on the first day, much speedier than the spirited haggling of the American voir dire process, which is meant to weed out bias among jurors.

Justice Goose asked the prospective jurors two questions: Have you booked a holiday or a medical procedure for the coming six to eight weeks? And do you know any of these witnesses and places?

A jury of 12 people was quickly formed, all but two of whom appeared to be white. Nearly everyone else in the courtroom was white, too, save for the defendants in the dock and their parents, who sat in the public gallery on the mezzanine floor comforting each other with optimistic forecasts for a quick dismissal.

Continued on Following Page



‘What if the jury thinks I am a bad kid. I don’t want to go to jail.’

ADEMOLA ADEDEJI, in a text to a youth worker.

Clockwise from above: Mr. Adedeji’s mother, Taiwo Adedeji, center, at a demonstration in Manchester in May; demonstrators outside the court in Manchester, where the police have a fractured relationship with Black residents; a memorial to Mr. Soyoye on the street in Moston where he was killed.





PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Enmeshed In the System Over 6 Texts To a Friend

From Preceding Page

Mr. Adedeji could not summon such optimism and turned to Ms. Legane for advice.

“What if the jury thinks I am a bad kid,” he had texted Ms. Legane. “I don’t want to go to jail.”

To prove conspiracy to murder, prosecutors needed to show that Mr. Adedeji had entered into an agreement with others, with an intent to kill.

It did not matter that no one had actually been killed. The agreement is a crime.

As a backup, prosecutors also charged him with conspiracy to cause grievous bodily harm with intent. They would need to prove only that Mr. Adedeji, or others in the conspiracy, intended to cause serious injury.

Until recently, conspiracy charges had little effect in Britain because they were difficult to prove, said John R. Spencer, a University of Cambridge law professor. Intercepted phone calls are inadmissible, but messaging apps and social media have “given teeth to a previously toothless legal rule,” he said.

Mr. Adedeji’s designation as a gang member simplified the prosecutors’ job, according to lawyers and legal experts. Gangs, almost by definition, form criminal agreements to hurt their rivals.

The prosecutors in Mr. Adedeji’s case declined interview requests, citing professional rules of conduct. In a written statement, the Crown Prosecution Service said that there was no broad strategy of using conspiracy charges.

“We do not select the cases that come to us and can only give charging decisions on those that do,” the statement noted, adding, “It was right that we put these defendants before the court.”

At trial, the lead prosecutor, Jonathan Sandiford, produced weapons — machetes and knives — and showed surveillance footage that drew gasps from the public gallery.

All the defendants, Mr. Sandiford said, were part of a street gang called M40. Some wore blue bandannas and threw gang signs. Some dealt drugs, protected their territory and wrote drill rap lyrics to brag about their exploits, he said.

“The defendants had a very personal motive for revenge,” Mr. Sandiford said. “The guilt and shame of knowing that they had run away and left their fellow gang member to die on the block.”

Mr. Adedeji had not touched any of the weapons, was not in the surveillance footage and had not left his friend to die. But in Mr. Sandiford’s telling, his childhood friendship with Mr. Soyoye, forged over jollof rice and rugby, became evidence against him. “His affiliation to the gang came through his relationship,” Mr. Sandiford said.

According to prosecutors, Mr. Adedeji was further implicated because Mr. Oni had saved his telephone number under a nickname, “Stormzy,” demonstrating how close the two were, and because Mr. Adedeji had been trusted enough to be invited to the Telegram chat.

A Gang? Or a Rap Group?

The jury was confronted with a core dispute: Either M40 was a gang, as the prosecution held, or a drill rap group, as the defendants argued.

Drill, which started in Chicago, is the anthem of Britain’s austerity generation. Its violent, nihilistic lyrics reflect the grimness of lives cut off from opportunity, said Franklyn Addo, a youth worker and author who submitted a witness statement in the trial.

The Crown Prosecution Service, by contrast, says that gangs use drill music to “taunt rivals, incite violence or glamorize criminality.” The police in London keep an index of drill videos and have asked YouTube to remove hundreds of them, a governmental response with echoes of American debates about gangsta rap in the 1990s and of the recent police response to drill music in New York. The British authorities have handed drill artists like Digga D with gang injunctions — court orders requiring them to seek approval before releasing new music.

“It is the policing of Black expression and Black sentiment,” Mr. Addo said. Black Britons are pathologized as so dangerous, he said, that the authorities mistakenly believe that “if we express violence in our music, then we are more inclined to commit that in real life.”

In Mr. Adedeji’s case, the prosecutors treated M40’s lyrics as confessions. They lingered over every syllable, emphasizing the occasional racial slur.

A police detective testified to interpret the slang. But he acknowledged learning about the genre from Wikipedia. And the police and prosecutors mistook a London drill group for one in Manchester because both wore purple bandannas.

“People of my generation flocked in their millions to see Marlon Brando’s murderous Godfather, or Al Pacino’s blood-drenched Scarface,” Adam Kane, a senior defense lawyer who represented another defendant, argued in court.

“That is what we call entertainment.”

In testimony, Mr. Oni was adamant that M40 was a rap group and that only four other defendants were members. Mr. Adedeji, who does not rap, was not part of the group.

But Mr. Oni made the prosecutors’ job easier. The surveillance video showed him to be violent, and his lyrics were, too.

“People write the best lyrics from their own experience,” Mr. Sandiford said.

“It is fiction,” Mr. Oni countered. “It is an exaggeration.”

The prosecutors had scant evidence to prove that Mr. Adedeji was in consort with the others, so they mined the teenager’s online life for evidence of a gang affiliation.

A picture of Mr. Adedeji holding a wad of cash to his ear in a post that mimicked a well-known Instagram pose was used as evidence of a criminal lifestyle. Prosecutors also claimed that Mr. Adedeji was in a video retrieved from Mr. Oni’s phone, wearing a blue bandanna and taunting the Rochdale group. But the more times they played the dark and grainy video in court, the clearer it became that Mr. Adedeji was not in it. The judge let jurors consider the video but urged them to be cautious before deciding who was in it.

Ms. Legane attended court daily, standing in for the defendants’ parents who could not risk their paychecks. She transcribed every word and tweeted daily trial updates. She became a chaperone and fierce advocate for the defendants. She raised money for lunches and Uber rides for Mr. Adedeji and three other defendants who were out on bail. The teenagers handed her their cellphones whenever they went into court.

To stave off his exhaustion and trepidation, Mr. Adedeji began doodling in court. In one drawing, he sketched himself hanging from a rope while wearing a suit with “not guilty” scribbled over it.

“It’s hard to hear what they’re saying about me,” he said one day after court. Sending the Telegram messages, he acknowledged, was a mistake. “I think the prosecutors are forgetting that we were all kids when this happened, and kids make mistakes.”

Tell Us About ‘Biggie Small’

Mr. Adedeji looked small in the witness box last April as he testified in his own defense.

He emphatically denied being in a gang. He cried while recalling Mr. Soyoye’s death. He said that he had joined the Telegram chat because he thought that his friends were organizing a memorial. He did not know who had killed his friend when he joined the chat three days after the killing, he said. He acknowledged being angry but denied plotting revenge.

Then Mr. Smith, the junior prosecutor, began his cross-examination.

“You said you were young and dumb at the time,” Mr. Smith said, sharply. “Are you still young and dumb now?”

“No,” Mr. Adedeji answered.

Mr. Smith brought up the contested meaning of Mr. Oni’s call to “touch something.” Mr. Oni had said that the word suggested “any form of violence.” Mr. Adedeji said that he understood “touch” meant to stab. But he denied sharing that intention.

“I sent a postcode,” he said. “I never said I meant to go and kill someone.”

During the cross-examination, it seemed that the prosecutors barely understood the hip-hop lifestyle they were putting on trial. That was especially apparent when Mr. Smith questioned Mr. Adedeji about an online conversation that came after Mr. Soyoye’s killing but that predated the Telegram chat.

Mr. Adedeji had been frustrated as teenagers mocked his friend’s death online. One night, he confronted someone called “Prince Abu” on Snapchat for posting a disparaging video about Mr. Soyoye.

Prince Abu denied any involvement in the killing and cautioned against jumping to conclusions. That’s how Biggie Smalls was killed, because everyone thought that he had killed Tupac, he said, referring to the two American rappers who were murdered in the 1990s. He misspelled their names.

“I just find you a weird person for posting that,” Mr. Adedeji told Prince Abu. “If I ever find out you post something like that again I am going to kill you.”

The prosecutors used this to argue that the conspiracy had taken shape even before the Telegram chat.

“So tell us about Biggie Small,” Mr. Smith asked.

“Tell you about Biggie Smalls?” Mr. Adedeji responded, confused.

“Prince Abu was talking to you about Biggie Small. People being killed previously. So what do you know about Biggie Small?” Mr. Smith pressed.

Biggie Smalls was a rapper in New York, Mr. Adedeji explained. “It’s got nothing to do with me,” he added.

“Killed two people,” Mr. Smith continued. “It’s there in black and white,” he said. “What’s all this about? This is your conversation now, remember?”

Only when the jurors laughed did Mr. Smith drop that line of questioning.

The Verdict

Mr. Adedeji was playing blackjack with Ms. Legane in a courthouse hallway in May when the jury reached a verdict. They paused for a long, teary hug. There was no time to rush his parents to court.

The courtroom was tense. Ms. Legane took a sharp breath when the foreman got to Defendant No. 7, Mr. Adedeji.

Not guilty of Count 1. Guilty of Count 2.

Mr. Adedeji, along with five other defendants, was convicted of conspiracy to cause grievous bodily harm with intent. The first four defendants were found guilty of conspiracy to commit murder.

Ms. Legane burst into guttural sobs so loud that the judge ordered her out of court. Mr. Adedeji stood in stunned silence as the judge ordered his arrest.

As she left the courtroom, Ms. Legane shouted, “We love you!” Mr. Adedeji disappeared from view as he was led to a basement cell.

In a courthouse hallway, Ms. Legane made dazed calls to parents. “It is bad news, I am afraid,” she said over and over again.

“What do we do now?” she asked between calls, clutching the teenagers’ phones.

She regrouped at a nearby bar with relatives of some of the defendants. Over fries and drinks, they jotted down things the young men would need — prescriptions, a change of clothes, the prison chaplain’s number.

Sentencing

Mr. Adedeji’s lawyer told him to prepare for the worst, up to 12 years in prison.

Ms. Legane organized a protest and gathered support from hundreds of people and organizations. Mr. Adedeji’s representative in Parliament, Lucy Powell, wrote to the judge condemning the “frequent use of gang narratives” in court.

The 10 defendants were sentenced in early July. The four defendants convicted of conspiracy to murder each received at least 20 years in prison. Still, the defense lawyers thought that Mr. Adedeji would probably get no more than four years.

The judge was unmoved by the arguments of Mr. Adedeji’s supporters. He sentenced him to eight years in juvenile prison, the same as the remaining five defendants.

Mr. Adedeji did not flinch but the public gallery heaved with fury and wailing relatives left the courtroom one after another. The judge issued stern orders for silence and, when the public ignored him, he rose to leave the courtroom. Just then, one defendant’s father shouted “racist.”

Mr. Adedeji lost his appeal against the sentence this month. He is still in touch with Ms. Legane through the prison email service. “Because of the color of my skin I got handed down a lengthy sentence,” Mr. Adedeji wrote earlier this year.

“I don’t know how to feel about everything but I do know that every morning I get up with a smile on my face because I am proud of my skin color and proud of who I am.”

A 'Gloomster' Prepared to Deliver Bad News to the British

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — Centrist, clean-cut and even-tempered to the point of blandness, Britain's chancellor of the Exchequer, Jeremy Hunt, had seemed out of step with his Conservative Party in recent years as it embraced the pro-Brexit bombast of Boris Johnson and then the right-wing tax-cutting agenda of Mr. Johnson's short-lived successor in Downing Street, Liz Truss.

But after Ms. Truss's fiscal plans sent the national currency crashing and borrowing costs soaring, competence and sobriety are suddenly back in fashion — and so is Mr. Hunt.

Appointed by Ms. Truss last month to help restore calm, Mr. Hunt was kept on by the new prime minister, Rishi Sunak. On Thursday Mr. Hunt, 56, will propose tax increases and cuts in public spending programs to try to close Britain's yawning budget deficit and appease financial markets.

Like a doctor tending a sick patient, Mr. Hunt has already warned the British public that the medicine will be unpleasant — a jolt after the relentlessly upbeat messaging of Mr. Johnson's years.

"The 'gloomsters' are back with a vengeance," said Jill Rutter, a senior fellow at the Institute for Government, a London-based research group, using one of Mr. Johnson's favored term for those who questioned his prognostications.

With inflation soaring and growth plunging, Mr. Hunt is trying to gauge the minimum pain required to forestall another market slide, while knowing that imposing measures too harsh could tip the economy into an unnecessarily deep recession.

"It's an appalling balancing act to have to manage," said Ms. Rutter, a former Treasury official.

The job of delivering the grim news falls to a former foreign and health secretary who is something of an accidental chancellor.

In July, when Mr. Hunt ran to succeed Mr. Johnson, he was swiftly eliminated from the contest, and when told last month that Ms. Truss wanted to speak to him, Mr. Hunt at first assumed it was a prank call. But when he responded, he was handed the job of chancellor.

He now finds himself working for Mr. Sunak, who made his own reputation while leading the Treasury for two years and is the more knowledgeable of the two on the economy.

"I imagine Rishi Sunak knows more about economics than his chancellor, but I think they will have a proper grown-up conversation," said Alistair Burt, a former Conservative lawmaker who served as a minister with Mr.



LEON NEAL/GETTY IMAGES

Jeremy Hunt, Britain's chancellor of the Exchequer, has the grim task on Thursday of proposing tax increases and spending cuts.

Hunt. "Jeremy Hunt is collaborative, and I don't think you have two rutting deer locking horns. They sink or swim together."

Because Mr. Hunt did a good job in calming last month's financial meltdown, there was a strong argument for keeping him. But in different circumstances Mr. Sunak might have chosen a different chancellor, and it is unclear whether Mr. Hunt will stay in that job until the next election, Ms. Rutter said.

For now, he fits the bill as an experienced minister who served for six years as health secretary, one of the most grueling cabinet positions, and, his supporters say, as someone whose politeness belies a steeliness in confronting opponents.

Mr. Hunt is a quintessential product of the British establishment. His father was an admiral in the Royal Navy and Mr. Hunt attended an expensive private school, Charterhouse, where he was given the student leadership role of head boy and was regarded as a squeaky-clean student whose favored sport was running.

He went on to Oxford University, where he studied politics, philosophy and economics — the three-subject course favored by many aspiring British politicians — before teaching English in Japan and embarking on a business career that made his fortune. Some bumps in the road included a failed venture to sell marmalade in Japan, but an education business, Hotcourses, was a big financial success.

It also led him to meet his wife, Lucia Guo, who was then recruiting Chinese students in Britain to the University of Warwick. The

> Someone leaders call on 'when everything turns to dust.'

couple married in 2009 in a traditional ceremony in Lijiang, China, during which Mr. Hunt had to perform several tasks, including singing, doing 25 push-ups and finding his bride's shoes. "I had to do three kowtows to the sun," Mr. Hunt told The Guardian.

Allies insist that Mr. Hunt is not as bland as he is sometimes portrayed. He is a fan of zouk lambada, a Brazilian dance, and as a new lawmaker he would sometimes leave Parliament at 10 p.m. to head to a club, where he would remove his jacket and formal shirt and take to the floor in a T-shirt that he wore underneath.

In 2010, he became culture secretary, then moved on to the health department, where he confronted junior doctors in a dispute over their employment contracts and gained a reputation for attention to detail, keeping a white board in his office devoted to reducing preventable medical errors.

Mr. Hunt opposed Brexit in the 2016 referendum, though he subsequently shifted his stance, saying he would vote to leave were the plebiscite held again.

In 2018, he was made foreign secretary by the prime minister at the time, Theresa May, performing well though not without some slips. In a particularly baffling error, he referred to his Chinese wife as Japanese, and in a pitch to his party's right-wingers he appeared to liken the European Union to the Soviet Union.

When Mrs. May was forced out in 2019, Mr. Hunt ran to succeed her, saying that he had been "waiting for this moment all my life."

His party was waiting for someone else, however. Although Mr. Hunt made it to a runoff with Mr. Johnson, there was little doubt who would win the critical vote among party members. Having accused Mr. Johnson of cowardice for avoiding media scrutiny during the campaign, Mr. Hunt was banished to the backbenches, where he led a committee on health.

While his return to a top cabinet position is an unexpected reversal of fortune, his task is formidable. After years of feuding, and having dispensed with four leaders, Conservative lawmakers are divided, rebellious and hard to control, let alone unite.

One faction in Parliament believes it is a mistake to raise taxes during an economic downturn, while other lawmakers may cry foul when spending programs are cut.

Even some allies are privately pessimistic about Mr. Hunt's prospects, although others believe that Mr. Hunt has as good a chance as anyone of restoring stability and salvaging his party's dwindling fortunes.

"He has survived in politics and government, because he's the sort of person you want around the table," said Mr. Burt, his former colleague. "When everything turns to dust, what does a prime minister do? They send for Jeremy Hunt."

Protest Erupts In China City On Problems Of Lockdown

By CHANG CHE and JOHN LIU

A lengthy lockdown and shortages of food prompted residents to take to the streets in China's southern manufacturing hub of Guangzhou, a rare protest that reflected the growing public frustration with disruptions caused by the country's Covid restrictions.

China maintains the world's most stringent approach to Covid, a policy that relies heavily on mass lockdowns, quarantines and mandatory near-daily testing across the country. Whole regions and cities, including Shanghai, have been placed under strict lockdowns, derailing millions of people's lives, forcing businesses to close and stirring public outrage.

The psychological toll of China's "zero-Covid" policy is mounting. Earlier this month, a poorly managed outbreak in the world's largest iPhone assembly complex in Zhengzhou led to a worker exodus and a delay in iPhone shipments around the world.

The restrictions have periodically prompted unrest, such as in Guangzhou on Monday evening, when throngs of residents marched down Qiaonanxin Street to protest the lack of food and daily necessities after being confined at home for three weeks, according to four owners of restaurants and shops on the street who were interviewed by phone.

A surge of Covid cases in Guangzhou in recent weeks prompted officials to enforce lockdowns in several districts that are home to roughly 6 million people, according to government announcements on social media. In the southern district of Haizhu, where Qiaonanxin Street is, the 1.8 million residents were ordered to stay at home and undergo daily testing. Travel was restricted. Schools moved online. The authorities put up barricades around neighborhoods where positive cases were recorded.

Some of the protesters tore down the fencing and the barricades that had been erected outside their housing compounds, according to two restaurant owners who would only give their surnames, Hu and Zhao. It was unclear if there were any casualties.

Many of the protesters were migrant workers from Hubei and its neighboring provinces working in Guangzhou's textile industry, said Mr. Hu as well as another restaurant owner, whose surname is Dai.

Videos circulating on social media showed an overturned police vehicle, ransacked food provisions and altercations between residents and health officials. Officers at a police station in Haizhu, reached by phone, said that they did not know about the incident.

The police arrived a few hours later, said the four people, and the crowd soon dissipated.

As of Wednesday, over a dozen neighborhoods in the area near Qiaonanxin Street remained under lockdown, and officials have not provided a date for lifting the order.

Guangzhou officials said that 95 percent of Covid cases found in the city on Monday were in the Haizhu district, according to a news conference on Tuesday. Food and other daily necessities had been distributed free of charge, and the supplies of fruits and vegetables have been increased on top of the original provisions, said Fu Xiaochu, a Haizhu district official.

Huang Kunming, the Communist Party leader of Guangdong Province, of which Guangzhou is the capital, visited the city on Tuesday and urged health officials to "win the battle" of pandemic prevention.

The central government pledged last week to refine its Covid rules in an attempt to limit the disruption caused to people's lives and to reduce the strain on public health care. Officials relaxed China's quarantine period for inbound travelers to a minimum of five days from seven and said that contacts of contacts would no longer be tracked.

But as case counts nationwide reached 19,609 on Wednesday, the highest daily total in over six months, how far the government may go in easing restrictions remains unclear. Investors rejoiced at the easing of quarantine rules that have been a major drag on the economy, but for most Chinese, the daily reality of having one's movements restricted has not changed.

Nor has China's rhetoric. On Tuesday, days after some Covid rules were changed, the People's Daily, China's state newspaper, published an article with a familiar headline: To "unswervingly implement the 'zero-Covid' policy."

A Botched Cancer Test, a National Scandal, and an Irish Hero

By ED O'LOUGHLIN

DUBLIN — Vicky Phelan had a harsh choice to make. In return for immediate payment, the 43-year-old mother of two, dying of cervical cancer, could sign a nondisclosure agreement and settle her medical negligence claim. Or she could take her case to Ireland's adversarial, expensive and often slow-moving courts, and maybe leave her family with nothing.

Time, and the odds, were not on her side: It was April 2018, and she had just been given six to 12 months to live. Opposing her suit were the Irish government's health authority and an American subcontractor, Clinical Pathology Laboratories Inc. of Austin, Texas. The company had failed to note signs of cancer in a routine Pap smear that she underwent in 2011, and that was later found to have been positive. Her lawyer advised her, reluctantly, that it was in her family's interest to sign the NDA and settle out of court.

But Ms. Phelan, who outlived her prognosis by years, succumbing to her cancer this week at age 48, had reason to believe that there were other women in her position who, unlike her, did not know that botched tests had deprived them of a chance for an early diagnosis and therefore earlier, more effective treatments.

She chose to go to court, and won a settlement of 2.5 million euros, or about $2.6 million, for herself and her family, becoming a national hero and exposing what advocates said was one of the biggest medical scandals in Irish history.

A subsequent official inquiry revealed that at least 220 other Irish women had also developed cervical cancer after receiving negative results for state-run Pap smears that, a later review showed, should have been flagged as likely positive. According to 221+, an advocacy group founded by Ms. Phelan and other affected women and their survivors, around 30 of these women have since died.

When news of Ms. Phelan's death broke on Monday, national news outlets and social media were flooded with expressions of mourning. Ireland's head of state, President Michael D. Higgins, led



ANDY GIBSON/ALAMY

the tributes.

"All of us who had the privilege of meeting Vicky will have been struck by the powerful inner strength and dignity with which she not only faced her own illness, but with the sense of commitment to the public good and the rights of others with which she campaigned," the president's statement said.

"Thanks to her tireless efforts, despite the terrible personal toll she herself had to carry, so many women's lives have been protected, and will be protected in the future."

Articulate, thoughtful, charming and plain-spoken, Ms. Phelan was a strong public advocate, both in official inquiries and in the media. Two years ago, another cervical cancer justice seeker, Ruth Morrissey, who had spent 36 grueling days in court pursuing her own case while gravely ill, died at 39. Ms. Phelan, a friend, wrote an open letter to Ireland's leaders.

"I don't want your apologies. I don't want your tributes," she wrote. "I don't want your aide-de-camp at my funeral. I don't want your accolades or your broken promises. I want action. I want change. I want accountability."

Lorraine Walsh, another victim of the mishandled smear tests who worked with Ms. Phelan in 221+, said her friend "was very detailed, very focused."

"She liked to get right into the nitty-gritty," Ms. Walsh said. "She was very well read, very intelligent, and always well prepared. On the flip side, she was very fun to be around. She was great craic — but don't cross her," using a local phrase for great fun.

Averil Power, chief executive of the Irish Cancer Society, called Ms. Phelan's death heartbreaking.

"She beat the odds so many times, getting new treatments, we hoped she'd do it again," Ms. Power said. "It was not unexpected, and she spoke so freely and openly about planning for her death, but it was still shocking to lose her. She did everything she could to get more time with her children, Amelia and Darragh, and her husband, Jim. They are missing their mother now, and that's the saddest part."

A statement released by Ms. Phelan's husband and two children said that "her passing will leave a void in all our lives, that at this point seems impossible to fill."

Ms. Phelan's case dates to 2011, when her routine Pap smear, which was taken under the auspices of Ireland's state-funded CervicalCheck screening program, was sent to a Texas subcontractor, Medical Pathologies Laboratories Inc., for examination, and came back negative. In 2014, she was told she had advanced cervical cancer. Three years later, she learned that a 2014 audit of hundreds of Irish negative smear tests that had been followed by cancers had found that at least 200 of the tests, including hers, had in fact showed evidence of the disease.

"If I was diagnosed [in 2011] I probably would have had to have a procedure and at worst a hysterectomy," she said in evidence in court. "If I was told sooner, I would not be in a position of a terminal cancer diagnosis."

Compounding her distress, Ms. Phelan discovered that CervicalCheck had taken two years to send out the audit results to doctors for the affected women, and that many of these women were not told about the error that had led to their delayed diagnoses.

The health authorities and clinicians had argued about whose responsibility it was to inform the patients. Her lawyer, Cian O'Carroll, said in an interview that Ms.



NIALL CARSON/PA IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Vicky Phelan, above in 2018, ignited public outrage in Ireland over fatal errors in cervical cancer screening.

Phelan herself began to piece the picture together only after she was left alone with her medical file while waiting for a test in 2017.

Ms. Power, of the Irish Cancer Society, said the cervical check scandal showed the need to reform a patriarchal, closed health system that can instinctively deny patients basic information on their own health, and can be particularly harmful to women.

While Ms. Phelan's campaign had won promises of reform from politicians and health leaders, she noted that a proposed law to grant patients the right to be told about their own cases had yet to be passed four years later. Despite promises to Ms. Phelan from the former prime minister, Leo Varadkar, that new compensation programs would ensure that no more CervicalCheck victims would be forced to seek justice in the courts, hundreds were still finding it necessary to do so.

"The politicians have all been paying tribute to her, but it's now incumbent on them to deliver on all the promises they made her and haven't kept," Ms. Power said. "She never wanted tributes. What she wanted was action."

A senior university administrator, Ms. Phelan had recently traveled to the United States for experimental treatment, but returned to Ireland for palliative care after new tumors were detected. She died early Monday morning at the Milford hospice in County Limerick, with her family around her.

COP27 Climate Summit

Countries at Odds Over How to Hold the Line on Climate Goals

This article is by ***Brad Plumer, David Gelles*** *and* ***Lisa Friedman.***

SHARM EL SHEIKH, Egypt — At last year's global climate talks in Glasgow, world leaders, scientists and chief executives rallied around a call to "keep 1.5 alive."

The mantra was in reference to an aspirational goal that every government endorsed in the 2015 Paris climate agreement: try to stop global average temperatures from rising more than 1.5 degrees Celsius (2.7 degrees Fahrenheit) above preindustrial levels. Beyond that threshold, scientists say, the risk of climate catastrophes increases significantly.

Now, 1.5 is hanging on for dear life.

At the United Nations climate summit that is underway in this Red Sea town, countries are clashing over whether they should continue to aim for the 1.5-degree target.

The United States and the European Union both say that any final agreement at the summit, known as COP27, should underscore the importance of limiting warming to 1.5 degrees.

But a few nations, including China, have so far resisted efforts to reaffirm the 1.5-degree goal, according to negotiators from several industrialized countries. Failing to do so would be a major departure from last year's climate pact and, to some, a tacit admission of defeat.

"When I arrived here, I got a really strong sense of backsliding," said Mary Robinson, the former president of Ireland who leads a group of prominent former leaders called the Elders. Along with leaders of nearly 200 of the world's largest businesses and civil society groups, Ms. Robinson signed a letter urging governments at the climate talks to stick with 1.5 degrees.

That temperature goal is "a limit of safe living," Ms. Robinson said, adding, "Every increase of a tiny fraction of a degree is harmful, and we have to claw to prevent going above 1.5."

For some nations, the dispute goes beyond digits. Leaders of low-lying island nations say vast swaths of their territories could wash away if global average temperatures were to surpass 1.5 degrees. "This is indeed a matter of survival for all vulnerable countries," Kwaku Afriyie, Ghana's environment minister, said.

At a gathering of the world's 20 largest economies that is taking place in Bali, Indonesia, this week, leaders said they were resolved "to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius," putting pressure on the diplomats at the climate talks in Egypt.

But with global carbon dioxide emissions reaching a record high this year, some negotiators fear that regardless of what is agreed to on paper, the 1.5-degree goal could soon be out of reach. The planet has already warmed an average of 1.1 degrees Celsius, compared with preindustrial levels, and under the current policies of national governments, the world is on pace to heat up 2.1 to 2.9 degrees Celsius this century, according to a recent U.N. report.



PETER DEJONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS



PRAKASH SINGH/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



CHINA STRINGER NETWORK/REUTERS

Clockwise from top: protesters at the United Nations climate summit in Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt, supporting the goal of stopping global temperatures from rising more than 1.5 degrees Celsius; solar panels in Chongqing, China; a power plant in Dadri, India.

"The goal to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees is on life support," Prime Minister Philip Davis of the Bahamas said in a speech to world leaders at the Egyptian conference. "This is a hard truth for many to admit, because even the best-case scenarios will mean almost unimaginable upheaval and tragedy."

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February set off a global energy scramble that has complicated efforts to reduce the use of fossil fuels. As natural gas prices soared, countries in Europe and elsewhere switched to burning coal, an even dirtier fossil fuel, and began investing in new natural gas pipelines and terminals that could operate for decades to come. Russian fuel exports continued as well, despite Western sanctions, simply heading to different trading partners. In the United States, Republicans continue to call for expanded oil and gas production and exploration. Fossil fuel companies have even made a number of gas deals with nations at COP27.

All of that could make limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees virtually impossible, Al Gore, the former U.S. vice president, said in a speech on the opening day of the Egyptian summit.

"The world's leading scientists and energy experts have told us that any new fossil fuel development is incompatible with 1.5 degrees as the limit to the temperature increase," he said.

The Paris Agreement includes some ambiguity over what the world's exact climate goals should be. The pact said that nations should commit to keeping global warming "well below" 2 degrees Celsius while "pursuing efforts" to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius.

Half a degree doesn't sound like much, but every fraction of a degree of additional warming could mean tens of millions more people worldwide exposed to life-threatening heat waves, water shortages and coastal flooding, scientists have found. A 1.5-degree world might still have coral reefs and summer Arctic sea ice, while a 2-degree world most likely would not.

The consequences are "massively different in terms of food security and the ability to grow crops in certain parts of the world, and in terms of the number of people that are exposed to extreme floodplain risk and extreme heat risk," Raj Shah, the president of the Rockefeller Foundation, said.

Yet, at this point, keeping warming to 1.5 degrees would require drastic steps that would be costly, politically difficult and disruptive, and would require leaders of nearly all countries to act in concert. They would need to slash their collective fossil fuel emissions roughly in half by 2030, and then quit adding carbon dioxide to the atmosphere altogether by 2050, scientists have calculated. That would require a complete overhaul of all electricity and transportation systems at an unprecedented pace. And with every year of inaction, the task gets harder.

By comparison, to keep warming to 2 degrees, nations would have an extra decade to cut their emissions in half.

China, the world's largest emitter, has several concerns about the 1.5 goal, said Li Shuo, a policy adviser for Greenpeace based in Beijing. It would put pressure on the Chinese government to adopt a more stringent domestic target for cutting greenhouse gases, something it wants to avoid, he said. And if the United States were to withdraw from the global fight against climate change, as it did under President Donald J. Trump, China would be left carrying the load alone.

"There is this skepticism about the United States' ability to fulfill its promise," Mr. Li said. "The U.S. could just walk away, citing congressional resistance, and on the other side, the Chinese will be held more accountable."

The Chinese delegation at COP27 did not respond to a request for comment.

India, the world's third-largest emitter, has in the past been wary of focusing too much on the 1.5-degree target. To meet that goal, Indian officials have said, richer countries would have to cut their emissions much more rapidly than they are doing and provide more financial aid to poor nations, potentially on the order of trillions of dollars, to help them shift to clean energy. So far, wealthy governments have failed to do that.

The Indian delegation at COP27 declined to comment.

Some leaders seem pessimistic that the 1.5 climate goal will be met even if nations do endorse the target. Words on paper, after all, don't cut emissions.

Prime Minister Mia Mottley of Barbados is leading a campaign to reform the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in order to unlock more money to help developing economies pivot from fossil fuels. She said that it wasn't enough to chant "1.5 to Stay Alive."

"I take no pride in being associated with having to repeat it over and over and over," she said.

Instead, she said, after a year of record storms, floods, fires and droughts, nations must do the hard work of cutting carbon dioxide and other gases that are trapping heat in the atmosphere.

For the determined optimists, however, there are glimmers of hope.

This year, Mr. Biden muscled through the Inflation Reduction Act, America's first major climate legislation, which will pour $370 billion into low-carbon technologies like wind turbines, solar panels, nuclear power plants, hydrogen fuels, electric vehicles and electric heat pumps. It is projected to help the country cut its emissions by 40 percent below 2005 levels by 2030.

In a speech at the climate summit, Mr. Biden called on other nations to follow his lead and come up with plans to reduce their planet warming emissions quickly.

"If we're going to win this fight, every major emitter nation needs align with the 1.5 degrees," Mr. Biden said. "We can no longer plead ignorance to the consequences of our actions or continue to repeat our mistakes."

The International Energy Agency has also predicted that the energy crisis incited by Russia's invasion of Ukraine will spur more nations to invest in lower-emissions technologies this decade in order to improve their energy security. Global investment in clean energy is now expected to rise from $1.3 trillion this year to more than $2 trillion annually by 2030, though that is still only half of what is needed to hold warming to 1.5 degrees.

"The science shows us that we can actually turn things around if we stop fossil fuel expansion and carbon emissions," Osprey Orielle Lake, the executive director of the Women's Earth and Climate Action Network, said. "It's like an 11th-hour save, but we can't give up."

Brazil's Lula Will Fight For Amazon Rainforest

By MAX BEARAK

SHARM EL SHEIKH, Egypt — Long after other world leaders had departed the United Nations climate talks in Egypt, Brazil's president-elect arrived — and electrified the gathering.

Enthusiasm was palpable here for Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, known simply as Lula to most. He recently defeated Jair Bolsonaro, a man Brazilian environmentalists describe as a "nightmare" for presiding over four years of rampant deforestation and lax enforcement of laws in the country's vast and fragile Amazon rainforest.

Mr. Lula addressed the summit's attendees amid exuberant supporters who serenaded him with a version of the celebratory chant "Ole, ole, ole!" His main message: "Brazil is leaving its cocoon where it was for the last four years."

"I am here to say to all of you here that Brazil is back in the world," he said at an event alongside governors of the country's Amazonian states.

It was Mr. Lula's first trip outside Brazil since winning the presidential election at the end of October, and he basked in the optimism many people here feel now that a defender of an ecosystem that is crucial to the global climate is back in power. This is Mr. Lula's second time as president; he led Brazil from 2003 to 2010. He will take office on Jan. 1.

"It's just a huge, huge relief," Mercedes Bustamante, an ecologist and professor at the University of Brasília, said. "Bolsonaro was a disaster. Climate agenda was completely paralyzed."

Mr. Lula's appearance at the summit comes as negotiators for nearly every nation in the world try to iron out an agreement on how to implement the pledges most have made to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions that are dangerously heating the planet.

Being invited to the summit before inauguration, Mr. Lula said in a speech later on Wednesday, was "an acknowledgment that the world is in a rush to see Brazil participating once again in the discussion of the future of the planet and all the human beings that live on it."

His speech did not contain any major announcements, but it didn't have to. He declared that he intended to make Brazil a force to combat climate change, drawing sustained applause from the assembled delegates and observers. After his speech, the president-elect was swarmed by well-wishers who wanted to take selfies with him.

Mr. Lula's history of clamping down on deforestation is what gives many of his supporters at the summit high expectations for his next term as president.

When he became president for the first time in 2003, Amazon deforestation was at one of its highest rates ever. By the end of his second term, in 2010, the rate of deforestation had dropped by 67 percent.

But under Mr. Bolsonaro, that trend reversed and the Amazon lost over 13,000 square miles of tree cover from 2019 to 2021, according to the National Institute of Space Research in Brazil.



MICHAEL DANTAS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Firefighters battled burning rainforest in Apui, southern Amazonas State, Brazil, in September.

Brazil had been set to host the annual U.N. climate summit in 2019, but Mr. Bolsonaro refused to go through with it. On Wednesday, Mr. Lula proposed holding the 2025 summit in one of Brazil's Amazonian cities. At his speech, he wore his lucky tie, the same one he wore when Brazil was selected to host the 2016 Olympic Games.

On Tuesday night, Mr. Lula met separately with John Kerry, the U.S. climate envoy, and Xie Zhenhua, Mr. Kerry's Chinese counterpart. The United States is the greatest historic emitter of greenhouse gases, while China is currently the top polluting country in the world. Brazil is among the top 10 biggest emitters, as well as one of the top 10 oil producers.

The United States and European countries have been pressuring the governments of large developing economies like Brazil to reduce their emissions more rapidly. In response, Brazil and others have demanded that industrialized countries help fund the transition of developing nations from fossil fuels to renewable energy.

Climate change, Mr. Lula said in his Wednesday speech, was "a problem created disproportionately by the rich countries of the world."

Mr. Lula said wealthy nations like the United States and those in the European Union must deliver on the 2015 pledge they made to give $100 billion annually to developing nations to help them transition to wind, solar and other clean energy. "My comeback is to demand what was promised in 2015," Mr. Lula told the gathering.

On Monday, the three countries that are home to more than half of the world's tropical rainforests — Brazil, Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Congo — formally announced an alliance to protect their forests and called for both public and private funding from around the world.

The plan has no financial backing of its own and was more of a call to action than a strategy for how to achieve its goals.

In Brazil, Mr. Lula faces a political landscape that is far more polarized than it was when he last served as president. The largest bloc in the country's incoming congress is still controlled by Mr. Bolsonaro's allies.

He will find more resistance from agribusiness, mining interests and others who were allowed to do what they wanted under Bolsonaro," Ms. Bustamante said. "Deforestation has now become much more tied to organized crime in the Amazon region."

Some of Mr. Lula's fiercest critics are now in the Amazon, where local leaders who have profited from weakened enforcement of environmental laws under Mr. Bolsonaro protested his victory.

"It's a challenging situation, but not an impossible one," said Adriana Abdenur, who runs Plataforma CIPÓ, a Brazilian environmental policy organization. "Revitalizing environmental agencies and providing better funding for enforcement can be done largely without congress."

For now, Mr. Lula's rhetoric around climate policy largely revolves around slowing deforestation in the Amazon, or even reversing it and reforesting parts of it. The Amazon absorbs carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, and its trees and soil store hundreds of billions of metric tons more.

Scientists have described a looming tipping point, however, when enough deforestation has occurred that the region's climate shifts and begins to dry out, turning it into a net carbon dioxide emitter.

Mr. Lula pledged to fight against illegal logging and mining in the Amazon "without truce."

"The mere fact we'll have a president who doesn't openly endorse the criminal destruction of the Amazon — you know, a willful expansion of environmental crime — there is surely reason to believe it will have an effect," Ms. Abdenur said. "It will matter."

With Netanyahu on Cusp of Power, Far-Right Ally Seeks to Lead Military

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

KEDUMIM, West Bank — As Benjamin Netanyahu tries to form a new government in Israel, one likely member of his cabinet has drawn particular concern in Washington and in Israeli security circles: Bezalel Smotrich, a far-right lawyer angling to lead Israel's powerful Defense Ministry.

Mr. Smotrich, 42, is a former settler activist with a history of hard-line positions, including support for segregation in Israeli maternity wards; governing Israel according to the laws of the Torah, the first five books of the Hebrew Bible; and backing Jewish property developers who won't sell to Arabs.

Mr. Smotrich has described himself as a homophobe, refuses to shake women's hands for religious reasons and has said it was a "mistake" that Israel's founders did not expel more Arabs when the country was founded.

Now, Mr. Smotrich wants to be defense minister, the second-most-powerful position in government, and one that would give him oversight over the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and airstrikes on Gaza. It would also make him a central point of contact between Israel and the United States, which provides the country with more than $3 billion in military aid each year.

His far-right ally, Itamar Ben-Gvir, who is seeking to run Israel's police forces, may have attracted more media attention. But Mr. Smotrich's ideological focus, organizational discipline and long-term vision — coupled with his desire for the Defense Ministry — have made foreign diplomats and domestic opponents fear his rise as much as Mr. Ben-Gvir's.

Like Mr. Ben-Gvir, Mr. Smotrich wants Israel to annex the occupied West Bank, ending any hope of a Palestinian state. But both his critics and allies feel Mr. Smotrich has a clearer idea of how to make that happen.

"From the perspective of preventing Palestinian statehood, his agenda is more of a threat," said Ofer Zalzberg, director of the Middle East Program at the Herbert C. Kelman Institute, a research group based in Jerusalem.

"He thinks a Palestinian state is still possible, and this is why he's investing so much in trying to prevent it," Mr. Zalzberg said.

Mr. Smotrich's rise highlights the growing role played within Israeli society by religious ultranationalists, who emerged as the third-largest bloc in the Israeli Parliament in the general election this month — their strongest showing ever — and who are increasingly reaching the top ranks of the security establishment and the police.



AVISHAG SHAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bezalel Smotrich, center, with his team before a news briefing in October. He hopes to be Benjamin Netanyahu's defense minister.

Mr. Smotrich's ambitions also underline the difficult balance that Mr. Netanyahu must now strike as he tries to finalize his government.

On Tuesday, Israel's Parliament was sworn in, formally giving Mr. Netanyahu's bloc a majority coalition and bringing it a step closer to power.

But before he can formally reenter office, Mr. Netanyahu needs to persuade his coalition partners to agree to the makeup of his cabinet and a shared policy platform.

One of the remaining hurdles is a disagreement about Mr. Smotrich's role. Mr. Netanyahu has to placate Mr. Smotrich, without whom he has no parliamentary majority. But Mr. Netanyahu also needs to consider international reaction, particularly from the U.S. government, which would probably balk at having to work so closely with someone with such extreme views.

"The administration is considering whether or not it would be consistent with President Biden's emphasis on promoting democratic values to deal with Bezalel Smotrich and others in his party," said Daniel B. Shapiro, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and distinguished fellow at the Atlantic Council, a U.S.-based research group.

Current U.S. officials have not publicly discussed Mr. Smotrich by name. But as the Israeli news media increasingly presents Mr. Smotrich as a candidate for the Defense Ministry, the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem has said it is closely watching events.

"Obviously we are keenly focused on ministry appointments," said Thomas R. Nides, the U.S. ambassador to Israel, in a text message. "Specifically the minister of defense, who is a major interlocutor with us."

Amos Gilad, a former chief of Israeli military intelligence, told reporters on Saturday that Mr. Smotrich would be "a major disaster" as defense minister if he refused to moderate his views after taking office.

Mr. Smotrich's office declined an interview, as did his spokesman. But his allies portray him as a diligent public servant whose critics misrepresent him.

"I'm convinced that Bezalel Smotrich will serve all the people," said Hananel Durani, the mayor of Kedumim, the Israeli settlement in the northern West Bank where Mr. Smotrich lives.

"He has a certain image in the media," said Mr. Durani, a member of Mr. Smotrich's party, Religious Zionism. But in reality, Mr. Durani said, he is a conscientious man who "listens, learns and takes decisions quickly."

Mr. Smotrich is often mentioned in the same context as Mr. Ben-Gvir. But though they are part of the same far-right alliance, the men come from different backgrounds and rabbinical schools — and in fact lead separate parties.

The son of a right-wing rabbi of European descent, Mr. Smotrich grew up in a settlement in the occupied West Bank and studied religious law for far longer than his ally.

Mr. Ben-Gvir grew up in a less observant environment, in a family of Middle Eastern origin. He spent his childhood in a middle-class suburb west of Jerusalem and only moved to a settlement in the West Bank as a young adult.

While Mr. Ben-Gvir's earthy gusto was the driving force behind their alliance's success in the recent election, Mr. Smotrich displayed the clearer road map.

It was Mr. Smotrich who produced detailed plans to limit the Supreme Court's ability to check the power of elected lawmakers. While Mr. Ben-Gvir expressed looser ideas about accentuating Israel's Jewish character, Mr. Smotrich set out a sharper program for doing so — publicly opposing the organization of soccer games on the Jewish sabbath, for example.

"Smotrich is coming from a place that is much more defined, ideologically and theologically," said Mr. Zalzberg, the analyst. "Whereas Ben-Gvir has moved into a space that is much more vague."

Throughout their careers, Mr. Smotrich is the one who has shown the greater organizational discipline and the greater ability to work within the system.

Like the vast majority of Israelis, Mr. Smotrich served as a conscript in the Israeli Army, briefly taking a minor administrative role after studying Jewish teachings for several years. By contrast, Mr. Ben-Gvir was barred from army service because he was deemed too extremist.

Both men are lawyers. But while Mr. Ben-Gvir worked largely independently, as a defense attorney for Jews accused of violence and extremism, Mr. Smotrich harnessed his legal expertise to found a pro-settler nongovernmental group that worked systematically to cement Israeli control of the West Bank.

While Mr. Ben-Gvir has several criminal convictions, including for racist incitement and support for a terrorist group, Mr. Smotrich was released without charge in 2005 after protesting against the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip.

Mr. Smotrich even worked in an earlier Netanyahu government, albeit in a more junior capacity. In 2019 and 2020, he was transport minister, winning plaudits from allies and critics for advancing road projects in both the West Bank and Israel itself.

"The group that Ben-Gvir is most focused on, and feels that he needs to deal with and rein in, are the Arabs," said Prof. Yehudah Mirsky, an expert on Jewish political thought at Brandeis University.

"For Smotrich, it's the state — the state is the real problem," Professor Mirsky added.

Both men are religious Zionists: They believe that the land in what is now Israel and the occupied territories was promised to Jews by God.

But they come from different rabbinical schools within the movement, giving the two men slightly different theological underpinnings, according to Daniella Weiss, a settler leader and longtime neighbor and ally of Mr. Smotrich.

Mr. Ben-Gvir's current beliefs are hard to pin down, but as a younger man he was an unabashed follower of Rabbi Meir Kahane, an Israeli-American extremist who believed in protecting Jews by expelling Arabs from Israel.

Mr. Smotrich's lodestar is Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, one of the forefathers of religious Zionism, who placed greater emphasis on establishing Jewish rule over the land, and was less concerned about how many Arabs lived there.

Rabbi Kahane believed that "as long as we have enemies on the land of Israel, there will always be problems," Ms. Weiss said. His "first act was to see to it that the enemies do not live here."

Followers of Rabbi Kook, like Mr. Smotrich and Ms. Weiss, believe that "from the act of redeeming the land, everything in our life will benefit," Ms. Weiss said.

"If we have more land and if we have more settlements," Ms. Weiss said, "then the Arabs will understand that they will not have here a Palestinian state."

Myra Noveck contributed reporting from Kedumim; Gabby Sobelman from Rehovot, Israel; and Jonathan Rosen from Jerusalem.

West African Floods Were Affected By Climate Change, Scientists Say

By HENRY FOUNTAIN

Heavy rains that led to recent deadly floods in Nigeria and neighboring countries were made about 80 times more likely by human caused climate change, scientists said Wednesday.

The floods, which killed more than 600 people in Nigeria and more than 200 in Niger and Chad, were the consequence of an extremely wet rainy season. The scientists, from a loose-knit coalition called World Weather Attribution, also said climate change had made the season, which runs from April to October, 20 percent wetter overall than it would have been in a world without warming.

The findings come as negotiators are meeting in Egypt at the U.N. climate summit, with the issue of "loss and damage" — whether industrialized countries should pay less-developed nations for the effects of climate change — high on the agenda. Nigeria and many other African countries produce relatively little carbon dioxide emissions that contribute to warming yet increasingly suffer from climate-related disasters like floods and heat waves.

"This is a real and present problem, and it's particularly the poorest countries that are being hit very hard," " said one of the researchers, Maarten van Aalst, director of the Red Cross Red Crescent Climate Center.

"It's not up to us as scientists to tell negotiators what to do," said Dr. van Aalst, who is attending the climate talks, known as COP27. But this study and others show that climate disasters "are not something for the future, they're happening today," he said. "So we do need those solutions on loss and damage and we need particularly to deliver in those countries where that vulnerability is highest."

The analysis looked at two aspects of the seasonal rains in the region this year: average rainfall for the entire season over a large drainage area, mostly in Chad, and spikes of extreme rainfall over weeklong periods in another drainage area, mostly in Nigeria.



TEMILADE ADELAJA/REUTERS

Groceries reached a relief camp in Rivers State, Nigeria, in October. The worst floods in decades hit Nigeria and other countries.

Like similar studies by this and other groups, the researchers used observational data as well as climate models that simulate both the current world, where emissions of greenhouse gases since the 19th century have raised temperatures by about 1.1 degree Celsius, or 2 degrees Fahrenheit, and a hypothetical world where no emissions, and thus no warming, occurred. This study has yet to be peer-reviewed and published in a journal, but the techniques used have been peer-reviewed many times before.

Comparing results from the two models, the researchers found that climate change influence appeared to be greater on the overall season, where climate change made such a high average rainfall 80 times more likely. Climate change made the heavy short-duration rains only twice as likely, the researchers found.

Floods are not uncommon in the rainy season in West Africa, but these were the worst in decades in Nigeria and some of the other countries. Nearly 1.5 million Nigerians were displaced and vast areas of farmland were flooded.

The researchers said there were other factors that contributed to the disaster, including poverty, military conflicts and land-use changes, especially the increasing settlement of flood plains by growing populations.

But the influence of climate change was clear, said Friederike Otto, a climate scientist at Imperial College London. Such an extreme rainy season would have been very rare in a world without climate change, she said, but now it has about a 10 percent chance of occurring in any given year.

And with the planet continuing to warm, "that also means that going forward we will see more of these very intense, rainy seasons in the region," Dr. Otto said.

The attribution group released a second analysis Wednesday, of the erratic and weak 2021 rainy season farther north in the Sahel, the semiarid region that borders the Sahara. The lack of rain affected harvests and worsened food shortages in Niger, Burkina Faso and elsewhere.

The researchers were unable to determine whether climate change influenced the drier than normal conditions because of a lack of reliable weather data, a common problem in some less-developed countries.





PHOTOGRAPHS BY NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Canada Turns to Indigenous People to Save Its Forests

By NORIMITSU ONISHI

BROADBACK FOREST, Quebec — At a bend in the Broadback River, Don Saganash, 60, listened to the steady, familiar sound of the rapids that to his ears were the "heartbeat of the Broadback." He took in the surrounding forest, the spruce and pine trees rising from a floor of rainbow-colored moss so soft that he had always imagined "walking on air."

Nothing had changed in this corner of the Broadback Forest since he was a boy, or since he was picked by his father to become the tallyman of his extended family's trapline, or ancestral hunting grounds. A respected figure among the Crees, his Indigenous community, the tallyman made sure there were enough animals and other resources for current and future generations.

"Now," his father told him, "it's up to you to protect our trapline."

Mr. Saganash began combating threats from industrial logging in the Broadback — a still untouched boreal forest in northern Quebec, reachable only through unmapped roads and boat rides along its waterways — two decades ago. But in recent years, his fight became part of a global fight against climate change.

Saving the Broadback and other boreal forests would keep intact vast stores of carbon that, if disturbed, could release carbon dioxide and contribute to global warming. Forests like the 3.2 million-acre Broadback are at the center of a growing battle to save the world's largest carbon sinks, from the rainforests in the Amazon to the peatlands of Indonesia and Central Africa to Canada's 1.4 billion acres of boreal forests.

Canada's boreal forests, the world's largest intact forest ecosystem, store at least 208 billion metric tons of carbon and are considered one of the world's largest terrestrial carbon vaults.

In part to meet its climate goals, in part to further reconciliation with Canada's Indigenous communities, the Canadian government has been turning to them more and more to help manage boreal forests by ceding more of the forest land to Indigenous groups. Last year, the federal government set aside $340 million to support areas protected by Indigenous groups and networks of Indigenous experts.

Under this program, more than 50 Indigenous communities across the country have received financing to establish and oversee areas for conservation, turning them into stakeholders entrusted to not only resist deforestation, but also to safeguard their carbon sinks. The program will also support Indigenous people who will oversee these areas.

For Indigenous leaders, the support was a belated acknowledgment of their historical and intimate knowledge of the boreal forest zone — home to 70 percent of the country's Indigenous communities.

"Within the past five years, I have seen a shift and an openness, particularly at the federal level, where I think they're starting to understand that traditional knowledge acquired over sometimes millennia is as valid as Western science," said Mandy Gull-Masty, the grand chief of the Cree National Government, which represents the Cree communities in Quebec.

Over the years, the Crees have pushed for greater protection of their traditional territory in northern Quebec, which are mostly on provincial lands. In 2020, the provincial government agreed to increase the percentage of protected land in traditional Cree territory from 12 percent to 23 percent — a surface equal to the size of Switzerland.

The federal government is financially backing the Crees' efforts to create a network of hydrologically connected protected areas with habitats for endangered animals like the woodland caribou.





Deep moss carpets the floor of the virgin Broadback Forest of northern Quebec. To the south, large swaths of land have been logged. Preservation of the forests is considered vital to Canada's hopes to curb climate change.



Roderick Happyjack, left, and Don Saganash traveling to Mr. Happyjack's camp in the forest. Below, dogs frolicking and Cree boys playing street hockey in Waswanipi. The territory of the Waswanipi Crees is about as big as Belgium.





'Traditional knowledge acquired over sometimes millennia is as valid as Western science.'

MANDY GULL-MASTY, *grand chief of the Cree National Government*

"They did information sessions, they did mapping exercises," said Ms. Gull-Masty, referring to tallymen and other local experts from the Cree communities in the north. These protected areas will help mitigate climate change by protecting forests and waterways, reduce the risks of forests fires and conserve wildlife, she added.

Marcel Darveau, a forestry expert at Laval University in Quebec City, said Indigenous groups have both an "ancient and actual knowledge" of boreal forests.

"They keep watch over the territory and are its guardians," he said.

Mr. Saganash, the tallyman who has long fought against logging, belongs to the Crees centered in Waswanipi, a town eight hours north by car from Montreal.

Today, even as protected areas have increased overall, logging has expanded throughout his region and has reached the edges of the Broadback Forest. Of the 62 traditional hunting grounds in the Waswanipi region, only a handful are untouched by logging.

"They're coming fast," Mr. Saganash said, worried that loggers or miners will eventually advance into the Broadback's unprotected area.

A decade ago, the Cree council of Waswanipi proposed the creation of a 1.2-million-acre protected area called Mishigamish, or large body of water, which would have included a stretch of the Broadback River, lakes and parts of the forest.

The area accounts for about a tenth of the total territory of the Waswanipi Crees — which is roughly the size of Belgium and has been logged significantly over the decades — and represents its last intact patch.

About 70 percent of the proposed area has now been protected, but the fate of the remaining section worries Mr. Saganash and others. A logging company has built two roads heading straight to the Broadback's southernmost limit, under a logging plan approved by the Quebec government.

The Waswanipi Crees' allies, including the Natural Resources Defense Council, say the Quebec government has not fulfilled an earlier pledge to discuss expanding protection of the Broadback. Officials at Quebec's ministries of forests and of the environment declined interview requests.

Tallymen have played a central role in maintaining sustainability in Cree territory through their "ability to make sense of a very complex landscape," said Gail Whiteman, a professor of sustainability at the University of Exeter who spent 18 months among Cree tallymen in the 1990s.

Over a recent three-day visit to this area, Mr. Saganash and his nephew, Stanley Saganash, 50, stayed at the camp of another relative, Roderick Happyjack, 40. Across a lake, along the Broadback River and into the moss-blanketed primary forest, in a region hours away from the nearest cellphone tower, there was no trace or sign of another human being.

But the three knew every beach along the lake, every bend along the river and every hill in the forest. Every corner of the unmarked territory seemed to hold a personal or family memory: the first moose killed, an unusually large birch tree cherished by a mother, the first log cabin built by a grandfather.

At night, in bed with the lights turned off, Mr. Saganash entertained the younger men with stories from the Broadback, including the time someone called a moose and it showed up right outside a cabin.

"Our elders used to say that their home was here first and that their second home was in the reserve," said Mr. Saganash, a retired ambulance driver who is now a member of the Cree council in Waswanipi.

Mr. Happyjack built his cabin after his grandfather died nine years ago, powering it with a generator that provided what Mr. Saganash described as "tradition with a modern twist." He transported a refrigerator, a stove, a freezer and other bulky items in winter, navigating the frozen waterways on a snowmobile.

His grandfather — the tallyman of Mr. Happyjack's trapline — had taught him to hunt and love the Broadback. In his will, his grandfather gave him permission to set up his own camp and invite friends, though only two at a time, to prevent overhunting.

"I feel closer to my grandfather when I'm around here," Mr. Happyjack said. "Sometimes he visits me in my dreams."

Two years ago, alone in the Broadback, he dreamed that after answering a knock at his door, he looked at the shore and saw his grandfather wearing his familiar red-and-black checkered coat.

"He turned around and looked at me," Mr. Happyjack recalled, adding that his grandfather then pointed silently at the log cabin he had built long ago. "What is my grandfather telling me? I wondered. I figured he was telling me to take care of his cabin. He worked hard and now I had to work hard to take care of it."

The sense of responsibility was transmitted through traplines and generations.

Stanley Saganash recalled one of the most important lessons he learned from his father while hunting.

"I used to kill a lot and my father told me, 'Whoa, don't shoot everything. Save some for the next generation,'" he said, adding that he had applied that lesson this hunting season. "I got one moose and my nephew got one moose. But I saw two more moose, and I didn't shoot them."

In each trapline, the tallyman was responsible for making sure that its members were using the land and its resources so that the trapline would keep providing for future generations.

"We're thinking three generations ahead," Don Saganash said.

The Canadian government had not always valued the role of Indigenous communities in conservation, Ms. Whiteman said.

"Now the global discourse is about protecting these carbon sinks — soil is almost the new sexy," Ms. Whiteman said. "But the tallymen always said this land is valuable to human survival."

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trying to Show Calm and Cool, and a Contrast With His Predecessor

By JIM TANKERSLEY and KATIE ROGERS

BALI, Indonesia — President Biden returns home from a week of diplomacy and crisis management in the Middle East and Asia strengthened in his faith that this period of war and economic turmoil calls for his brand of coalition-building politics — reinforcing the leadership differences with his predecessor, Donald J. Trump, just as he announced another White House run on Tuesday.

Mr. Biden's swing through Egypt, Cambodia and Indonesia was buoyed by a cascade of better-than-expected news for Democrats in the midterm elections and punctuated by a nearly three-hour meeting with China's top leader, Xi Jinping, that appeared to ease the rancorous rhetoric between the two increasingly rivalrous economies, the world's largest.

As reports emerged of Russian-made rockets killing two people in Poland, Mr. Biden convened an emergency meeting with NATO and Group of 7 leaders over the latest missile strikes in Russia's war in Ukraine, declining to speculate on the source until more facts were known.

The week's events epitomize, Mr. Biden's aides and allies say, the president's approach to governing, which preaches cooling tempers and restoring the sort of alliances that his predecessor ignored or rended. Over the course of his trip to Asia, he effectively offered global leaders the same choice he campaigned on in the closing days of the midterms: Do you want Mr. Trump's brand of American leadership, or mine?

During Mr. Trump's time in office, his style differed sharply, aligning America with strongmen and dictators at the expense of traditional democratic allies. Mr. Trump was friendlier than Mr. Biden has been in office with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia; the North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un; and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia. With Mr. Xi, Mr. Trump vacillated between syrupy compliments and harsh language, depending on the issue.

As Mr. Trump announced on Tuesday that he would run for president again, he called the coronavirus the "China virus" yet also called Mr. Xi, who moved last month to extend his reign and consolidate his power, a "king."

"Trump indulged in personal diplomacy, thinking he could resolve problems by dealing directly with various authoritarian leaders," said Richard N. Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations. "Biden tends to see authoritarians for what they are and sets his sights lower."

With Mr. Trump's declaration looming in the global backdrop, Mr. Biden appeared uninterested in discussing the former president's candidacy. As Mr. Trump was speaking, Mr. Biden arrived at a mangrove forest in Bali to meet with other leaders, including President Emmanuel Macron of France, Chancellor Olaf Scholz of Germany and Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India, for a ceremonial planting to signal a commitment to climate initiatives.

Among the mangroves, Mr. Biden was asked if he had any reaction to Mr. Trump's run. The president shared a look with Mr. Macron and continued walking. "No. Not really," he said, turning his attention back to the plants.

At other times during the week, the president's message about Mr. Trump was implicit. "On my first trip overseas last year, I said that America was back — back at home, back at the table, and back to leading the world," Mr. Biden said at a news conference on Monday, shortly after his meeting with Mr. Xi. "In the year and a half that's followed, we've shown exactly what that means."

"America is keeping its commitments. America is investing in our strength at home. America is working alongside our allies and partners to deliver real, meaningful progress around the world," he said. "And at this critical moment, no nation is better positioned to help build the future we want than the United States of America."

Mr. Trump offered a more confrontational and nationalist message on Tuesday evening, as he announced his 2024 campaign at his Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida.

"When I left office, the United States stood ready for its golden age," he said. "Our nation was at the pinnacle of its power, prosperity and prestige, towering above all rivals, vanquishing all enemies, and striding into the future confident and strong."

"For the first time in memory," he added, "China was reeling and back on its heels."

Under his presidency, the United States did take a markedly tougher approach to China, including over trade, Taiwan and



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden in Bali after a meeting with Group of 7 and NATO leaders. Mr. Biden put his coalition-building approach on display on a trip through Asia, as he sought to ease tensions with China.

Beijing's influence abroad.

After the coronavirus spread from China in 2020, the Trump administration's antagonism toward Beijing had an increasingly ideological hue, with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo declaring that "securing our freedoms from the Chinese Communist Party is the mission of our time."

Mr. Biden has continued many of those policies, even if he smoothed their more abrasive edges, while laying out new restrictions on China's access to technology. In effect, he has sought to use a more open dialogue with Mr. Xi to defuse Beijing's criticism of America's increasingly confrontational economic policies toward China.

Mr. Biden's approach has won praise in Asia. Thomas Lembong, a former trade minister in Indonesia, said Mr. Biden's "constructive posture is clearly more conducive for the region and the world than Trump's hostile actions combined with his hostile rhetoric."

But Robert Ross, a political science professor at Boston College and a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, said that Mr. Biden's more amicable approach also belied his administration's effort to impede China's access to technologies that could advance its computing abilities or bolster its military.

"This is a policy designed to maintain American supremacy and that requires countering the rise of China," Mr. Ross said. "Certainly the president is very confident in America's ability to contend with the rise of China. But this has to be sustained through numerous presidents, not just the Biden administration."

Mr. Biden left Washington for a weeklong trip two days after the midterm elections. He took aim at Mr. Trump in his first stop, apologizing at a climate summit in Egypt for Mr. Trump's decision to pull out of an agreement to limit catastrophic levels of global warming.

But as the trip progressed, Mr. Biden spoke less about his predecessor and more about what the outcome of the midterms said about Mr. Trump and candidates who falsely claimed that the 2020 election was stolen.

Midway through his stop in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, at a summit of Southeast Asian leaders, news outlets declared that Democrats had retained control of the Senate. By the time he reached Bali, for a meeting of the Group of 20 nations, it was clear Mr. Biden's party had suffered relatively small losses in the House for an incumbent party in a midterm.

An ebullient Mr. Biden claimed momentum on the international stage from those domestic results. "It's been clear just how closely the world and our allies and our competitors as well have been following our elections at home," Mr. Biden said at his news conference. "And what these elections showed is that there is a deep and unwavering commitment in America to preserving and protecting and defending democracy."

Mr. Biden did not script the split-screen drama that played out on Wednesday morning in Bali — Tuesday night in Florida — but it illustrated exactly the contrast that White House advisers had hoped to draw at the time of Mr. Trump's entry into the 2024 campaign.

A few days before the midterms, one Biden adviser told reporters that the likely timing of Mr. Trump's announcement would give Mr. Biden a chance to show himself as "the president of the United States leading the free world in a way only he can."

Mr. Biden had planned to spend the moments surrounding Mr. Trump's speech engaged in photo-opportunity diplomacy, planting mangrove trees with fellow leaders and receiving a personal tour of the forest from President Joko Widodo of Indonesia.

But he woke early to news that Russian-made missiles had exploded in Poland. He delayed the tree planting and called an emergency meeting of allies. Afterward, he addressed reporters, pledging full support for an investigation and condemning Moscow's latest round of missile attacks across Ukraine, even as he suggested the explosion in Poland may not have been the fault of Russia.

"They've been totally unconscionable, what they're doing. Totally unconscionable," Mr. Biden said. "At the moment when the world came together at the G20 to urge de-escalation, Russia has chosen to escalate in Ukraine, while we're meeting."

A few moments later, Mr. Trump began an hourlong campaign kickoff at his home in Palm Beach, Fla., rehashing a familiar pitch that America is declining and only he can turn it around, peppered with provocative claims often detached from facts. He claimed without evidence that the invasion of Ukraine "would never have happened if I were your president," and he mocked Mr. Biden over the Polish explosions.

"A missile was sent in probably by Russia to Poland, 50 miles into Poland," Mr. Trump said. "And people are going absolutely wild and crazy, and they are not happy. They are very angry. And we have a president who falls asleep at global conferences."

Some 10,000 miles away, Mr. Biden, whose first call of the day had been completed by 5:30 that morning, walked among the mangroves with other world leaders.

Christopher Buckley, Muktita Suhartono and Sui-Lee Wee contributed reporting from Bali.

Xi Scolds Trudeau Over a Disclosure

By CHRIS BUCKLEY

BALI, Indonesia — A brief scolding that the Chinese leader Xi Jinping gave to Canada's prime minister, Justin Trudeau, at the end of a summit in Indonesia has offered a glimpse into Mr. Xi's muscular style of personal diplomacy.

A short video caught by a news cameraman shows Mr. Xi smiling tightly as he spoke to Mr. Trudeau at a concluding reception for the Group of 20 meeting in Bali on Wednesday.

Mr. Xi accused Mr. Trudeau of leaking details of a brief conversation they had the previous day. "Everything we discussed has been leaked to the paper. That's not appropriate," Mr. Xi says, speaking through a translator. Mr. Trudeau nods curtly. Mr. Xi shakes his head, telling Mr. Trudeau, "That's not the way the conversation was conducted."

Mr. Xi goes on to say that "sincerity" is needed for fruitful discussion. "Otherwise, the outcome will be hard to say," he adds. But before his words can be fully translated, Mr. Trudeau responds.

"In Canada we believe in free and open and frank dialogue," he says. Mr. Xi looks away, his wan smile gone, as Mr. Trudeau adds: "We will continue to look to work constructively together, but there will be things we will disagree on."

Mr. Xi has the last word before the men shake hands and part: "Let's create the conditions first."

While Mr. Xi has a reputation as a swaggering strongman, his image is carefully managed, and the 40-second conversation offered an unusual peek into how he interacts with other leaders — and can be attentive to perceived slights. The exchange came at the end of a summit where Mr. Xi has sought to steady China's relations with the United States, Australia and other Western countries. Canada had not been included in Mr. Xi's roster of formal meetings, possibly reflecting unhappiness with recent comments by Mr. Trudeau and the Canadian foreign minister, Mélanie Joly.

"Unfortunately we're seeing that countries, state actors from around the world, whether it's



SEAN KILPATRICK/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Xi Jinping chastising Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

China or others, are continuing to play aggressive games with our institutions, with our democracies," Mr. Trudeau said, after news reports that Chinese authorities had meddled in Canadian elections by secretly funding 11 candidates in the 2019 federal election.

In the absence of a formal meeting with Mr. Xi, Mr. Trudeau engaged him in a brief, unscheduled conversation at a reception on Tuesday. Canadian media later reported, citing the Canadian prime minister's office, that Mr. Trudeau had discussed the war in Ukraine, other international issues, and reports about China's election interference.

Mr. Xi's accusation of a leak seemed to be about Canada disclosing details of that unplanned meeting, given that the Chinese government apparently had not prepared its own account.

At a news conference in Bali after the video began to circulate, Mr. Trudeau defended his approach to China. "Canada needs to be able to engage constructively and directly while at the same time be there to challenge on human rights and values that matter to Canadians," he said, according to The Globe and Mail.

Mr. Trudeau's relationship with Mr. Xi has deteriorated significantly since 2015, when Mr. Trudeau first took office vowing to improve Canada's relationship with China. The prime minister's trip to Turkey for the Group of 20 leaders' summit that year was notable for the admiration he and Mr. Xi expressed for each other.

But the countries' relationship fell apart in December 2018 when the Chinese government jailed Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig, two Canadians in China, shortly after Canada had arrested Meng Wanzhou, a Chinese telecommunications executive, in Vancouver, British Columbia, at Washington's request.

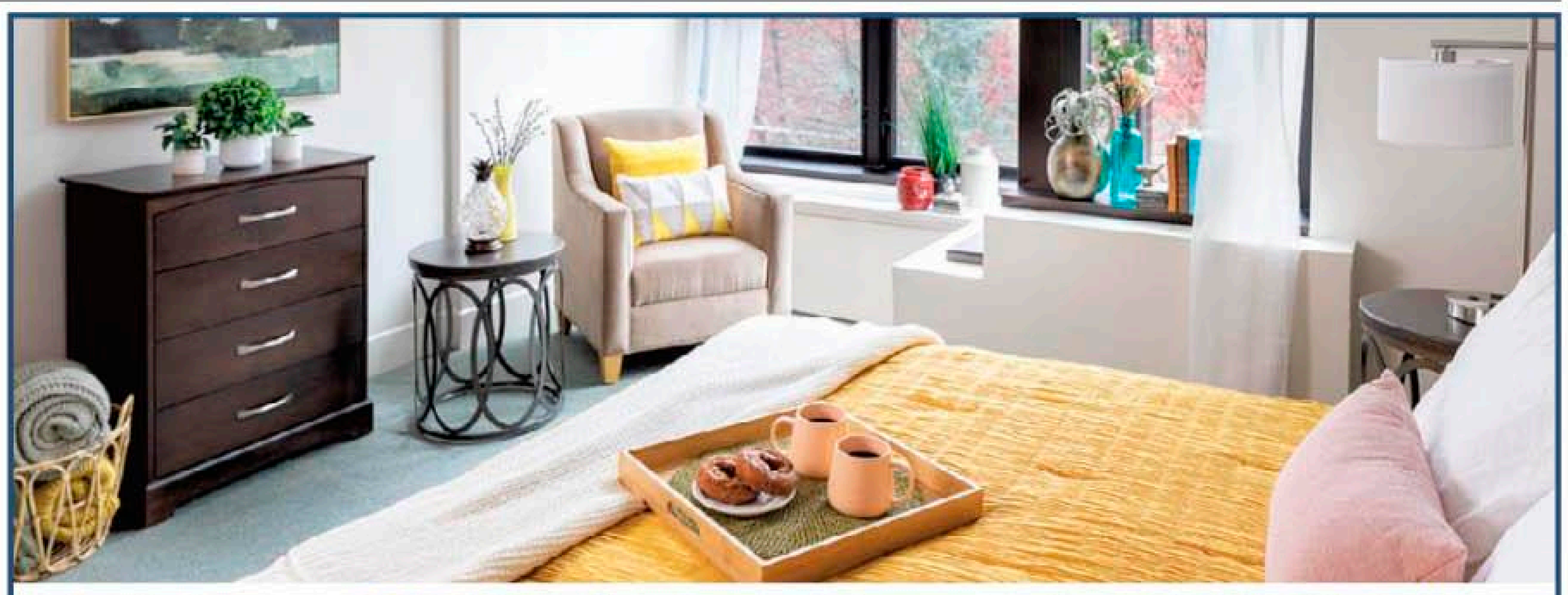
Both Mr. Trudeau and senior members of his cabinet have increasingly criticized China publicly. The prime minister most recently took China to task following a report that at least 11 candidates in Canada's last election had received secret, illegal funding from China.

Ms. Joly, the foreign minister, recently called China an "increasingly disruptive global power" and warned Canadian companies about potential risks in doing business there.

Outside the House of Commons in Ottawa, François Philippe Champagne, the industry minister, dismissed suggestions that Mr. Trudeau had been indiscreet. "What I'm pleased about is the prime minister standing up for Canada," he told reporters.

David Mulroney, Canada's ambassador to China from 2009 to 2012, said it appeared to him that Mr. Xi planned to dress down Mr. Trudeau within earshot of journalists' microphones. "It was designed to to be a rebuke and to be a public rebuke," Mr. Mulroney said. "This was very much a lecture from an uncle to to a young boy."

Ian Austen contributed reporting from Ottawa.





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From left, Jacqueline Wiggins, Sadie Bell and Kia Wheeler are among hundreds of women who say they were sexually abused in prison and who plan to file suits under New York's Adult Survivors Act.

For Survivors of Prison Sex Abuse, a Chance to Finally Be Heard

By CHELSIA ROSE MARCIUS

Hundreds of women who have accused prison guards of sexual abuse going back decades plan to sue New York State under new legislation that allows survivors to take legal action no matter how many years have elapsed.

The Adult Survivors Act, passed in May, gives people who say they were sexually abused a one-time opportunity to file civil suits long after the statute of limitations for most criminal cases has expired.

New York lawmakers anticipated that current or former prisoners would sue. Like the Child Victims Act that passed in 2019, which extended the statutes of limitations for those abused as children, the new law allows people to file allegations about mistreatment in state facilities, including prisons.

There is no cap on how much the state can pay out to settle such lawsuits, said Brad Hoylman, the New York State senator who sponsored the legislation. The money would come out of the $220 billion state budget, and possibly from the roughly $500 million reserved for unexpected expenses. California approved similar legislation in September.

The legislation takes effect in New York on Nov. 24. At the law firm of Slater Slater and Schulman alone at least 750 individual civil lawsuits on behalf of incarcerated women are expected to be filed, lawyers there said. Some of the women's cases date back to the 1980s and 1990s. Other law firms are likely to follow. Slater Slater and Schulman has previously pursued sex-abuse suits against the Boy Scouts of America and the Catholic Church.

The State Corrections Department has a long history of sexual abuse inside its prisons. The Department of Justice investigated allegations in the early 1980s at the now-shuttered Bayview Correctional Facility in Manhattan. The agency released a scathing report in 1985 about the abuse, and made recommendations to the state.

Thomas Mailey, a spokesman for the State Corrections Department, said in a statement that the agency has "zero tolerance for sexual abuse, sexual harassment, and unauthorized relationships," and that it investigates all reports of sexual victimization.

There are about 31,100 people incarcerated in 44 state prisons, according to October statistics from the State Corrections Department. About 1,200 women are in three of the state's all-female facilities.

Some legislators and even the lawyers at Slater Slater and Schulman were surprised by the large response from women who served time, a group often overlooked because of the stigma prison carries. Adam Slater, a partner at the firm, said the number of women who say they were victimized was staggering.

"Once we recognized the overwhelming number of survivors, we decided to reach out in different ways — and the response has been pretty unbelievable," he said.

The firm's clients include Sadie Bell, 61, who says she suffered an ectopic pregnancy and was left infertile after being raped by a prison sergeant at Bayview. Another is Kia Wheeler, 49, from the Bronx, who says she was repeatedly and violently sexually assaulted for months by a guard at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in Westchester.

Jacqueline Wiggins, 58, has accused a guard of raping her at Bayview about 30 years ago when she was serving time for trying to sell a controlled substance. She

> *'I didn't think I was worthy. I didn't think anyone would care.'*

says she still remembers his haircut, his body odor, his teeth.

Ms. Wiggins, a nurse, said she has tried to push his face out of her mind for years. But in early November, she was lying in bed watching television at her Long Island home when a Slater Slater and Schulman advertisement appeared on the screen. It said: If you have ever been incarcerated at Bayview Correctional Facility, and have been sexually abused, please contact us.

Ms. Wiggins sat up and stared at the television. "No," she said to herself. "This is not right. I'm seeing things. This can't be happening." She waited for the commercial to air again just to make sure it was real.

She had never told anyone about what she says she endured — not her best friend, not her siblings, not her three sons and not even her mother. By mid-November, she had told about 10 confidants, and had decided to forge ahead with a lawsuit.

"I tried to leave that behind 30 years ago. And now here it is, all coming back," Ms. Wiggins said during a recent interview at the law firm's Midtown office. "I suppressed it. I kept it down in my gut. I didn't think I was worthy. I didn't think anyone would care."

Some of the suits the firm plans to file under the Adult Survivors Act will also be against cities and counties and their jails, including Rikers Island in New York City. Ben Crump, a prominent civil-rights attorney who represented the families of Black victims of police violence, including Breonna Taylor and George Floyd, has partnered with Slater Slater and Schulman to litigate some of the suits.

For Ms. Wheeler, filing a suit meant dredging up memories she has tried to forget for 20 years.

She smoked marijuana at times to get through the day, but anger festered. She would often lash out at strangers, her daughter and former fiancé. She wears her diamond engagement ring on a silver chain, a reminder of the relationship she says she ruined because she had not dealt with the abuse.

Ms. Wheeler went to a therapist as a part of the conditions of her parole. During one visit, the therapist told her to return to a time before prison. He asked her, if she was 13 years old what would she buy for herself?

She said Barbie dolls and roller skates, like the ones she wore when she used to go to the rink with her brother. She went out and bought them both.

"My ex-fiancé would be like, 'Why are you always on those skates?'" she said, sobbing as she spoke. "And I would tell him because you never see a sad roller skater."

Mr. Hoylman said the new law empowers women like Ms. Wheeler whose abusers evaded justice because of short criminal statutes of limitations.

"These women are part of a vulnerable group of people who suffered under the system and those in power," he said.

Ms. Bell, who had the ectopic pregnancy, says she was placed into solitary confinement for weeks immediately after a sergeant raped her at Bayview. When officials learned she was pregnant, she was transferred to Bedford Hills.

Soon after, Ms. Bell says she experienced searing pain and was rushed to the hospital, where she was cuffed and shackled. Her fallopian tube had ruptured and she lost five pints of blood. She became infertile as a result.

"I haven't really received treatment for all of this," she said of the assault, and the trauma that ensued. "Every therapist I had was either falling asleep or yawning when I told them the story. And then I didn't want to tell it anymore."

New Measure of Climate's Toll: Disasters Are Now Common



MICHAEL SWENSEN/GETTY IMAGES

Searching for flood victims in July in Jackson, in eastern Kentucky, one of the areas of the country most vulnerable to extreme weather events.

By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE

WASHINGTON — The rising toll of climate change across the United States has been measured in lives lost, buildings destroyed and dollars spent on recovery. But a report released on Wednesday uses a different measure: Which parts of the country have suffered the greatest number of federally declared disasters?

That designation is reserved for disasters so severe, they overwhelm the ability of state and local officials to respond. The report finds that disasters like these have become alarmingly common.

From 2011 to the end of last year, 90 percent of U.S. counties have experienced a flood, hurricane, wildfire or other calamity serious enough to receive a federal disaster declaration, according to the report, and more than 700 counties suffered five or more such disasters. During that same period, 29 states had, on average, at least one federally declared disaster a year somewhere within their borders. Five states have experienced at least 20 disasters since 2011.

The numbers exclude disaster declarations related to the coronavirus pandemic.

"Climate change is here," said Amy Chester, the managing director of Rebuild by Design, a nonprofit that helps communities recover from disasters, and which prepared the report. "Every single taxpayer is paying for climate change."

That doesn't mean climate change is hitting every part of the country to the same degree. Wealthy and populous cities are often better able to sustain the shock of extreme weather events. By focusing on federally declared disasters, the report is able to equalize those differences, offering something close to a true accounting of which places are most exposed to climate shocks they cannot cope with on their own.

At the top of that list are five counties that have each experienced, on average, more than a disaster a year since 2011. Those counties are concentrated in two areas: Southern Louisiana (where counties are called parishes) and eastern Kentucky.

Louisiana outpaces the rest of the United States in another regard. Over the past decade, the state has received more federal disaster money per capita — $1,736 for each resident — than anywhere else in the nation, the report found. Only New York State comes close, at $1,348.

But the burden of climate shocks extends beyond the Gulf Coast and Appalachia. Since 2011, California has received 25 federal disaster declarations, including for wildfires in 2017 and 2018 that resulted in $2.5 billion in federal money to rebuild public infrastructure. Mississippi and Oklahoma have each suffered 22 disasters. Iowa has had 21, mostly for severe storms and flooding.

Even in states not typically associated with extreme weather, some counties have had frequent calamities. Fairfield County, Conn., which includes Greenwich and Stamford, has received eight federal disaster declarations since 2011. Grafton County, in central New Hampshire, has had seven. Morris County, N.J., 30 miles west of Manhattan, has had nine.

Not every type of disaster is associated with climate change. For example, it's unclear whether there is a link between rising temperatures and earthquakes. But scientists have become increasingly convinced that a warming world is contributing to worsening floods, hurricanes, wildfires and other extreme weather events.

The data also shows the areas least exposed to unmanageable climate shocks, at least so far. States in the Midwest, including Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Michigan, are among those with the smallest number of federal disaster declarations, with an average of roughly one disaster every two years.

But the authors of the report say that just because a state has had fewer federal disaster declarations doesn't mean it has gotten through the past decade largely unscathed.

At the bottom of the list is Nevada, which has had just three federal disaster declarations since 2011. Next door, Arizona has had just six. Yet, Nevada and Arizona ranked highest for heat-related deaths from 2018 to 2021, according to the report.

"Heat has the highest mortality of all climate impacts, but their disaster declarations were so low," Ms. Chester said. The reason: Federal disaster declarations focus on property damage more than direct human consequences like illness, injury or death.

Still, the prevalence of federally declared disasters remains one tool for gauging the effects of climate change.

The report shows the importance of doing more to increase community resilience, said Victoria Salinas, the acting deputy administrator for resilience at the Federal Emergency Management Agency. "By better understanding risk," she said, "we can more effectively take action together to accelerate resilience and adaptation in our nation's most at-risk and disadvantaged communities."

To pay for that new spending, Rebuild by Design proposes, states should impose a 2 percent surcharge on insurance premiums.

The American Property Casualty Insurance Association, which represents insurers, rejected the proposal, saying it could make insurance less affordable and potentially lead some people to not carry enough coverage to recover from disasters. Adding a surcharge to insurance policies "is the wrong approach," Don Griffin, a vice president at the association, said in a statement.

Using an insurance surtax to pay for disasters is a strategy that is already in use, in a sense. As the report notes, Florida levies surcharges on private insurance policies to make up for shortfalls in its state-run insurance program — something that's likely to happen in the aftermath of Hurricane Ian.

Rebuild by Design suggests reversing the chronology. Rather than taxing insurance payments to pay for disaster recovery, a state would come up with additional funds before a storm, then use that money to better prepare communities before a disaster strikes, perhaps making it unnecessary for the federal government to declare a disaster at all.



KEEGAN BARBER/NASA

The 322-foot rocket of NASA's first Artemis mission awed spectators early Wednesday as it began a trip to the moon and back.

Launch Blazes Trail Back to Moon for NASA

From Page A1

sion about how America should pursue its space aspirations. NASA has spent more than $40 billion to date to get Artemis off the ground. The expenditure illustrates how the space program continues to resemble the way that the Pentagon builds aircraft carriers and F-35 fighters — expensive and slow, but primarily controlled by the federal government because no commercial market yet exists for the kinds of large rockets and deep-space transports that NASA considers to be necessary for its moon exploration program.

The alternative approach, where NASA would be a customer or a passenger on commercial spacecraft, could be cheaper and faster, relying on innovative spacecraft built by entrepreneurial companies like SpaceX, led by Elon Musk.

"If you were serious about going back to the moon, you would just go all-in on commercial approaches," said Charles Miller, who worked at NASA from 2009 to 2012 as a senior adviser for commercial space activities.

But the commercial approach may not exactly provide what NASA and other government decision makers want, and companies can often change plans or go out of business.

In the geopolitical background for policymakers is a growing competition with China, the only country that now has robotic spacecraft on the lunar surface. China last month completed construction of its own space station, and the country's space officials aim to construct a research outpost on the moon and send astronauts there in the 2030s.

Bill Nelson, the NASA administrator, has warned that China could become the dominant lunar superpower, concerns that echo the jostling between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1960s that motivated the Apollo moon landings from 1969 to 1972.

While it may not have mollified the critics, the 322-foot-tall rocket, known as the Space Launch System, or S.L.S., was an imposing sight on the launchpad. However, with the middle-of-the-night launch time, the Florida Space Coast was not as jammed with spectators as it had been for earlier launch attempts.

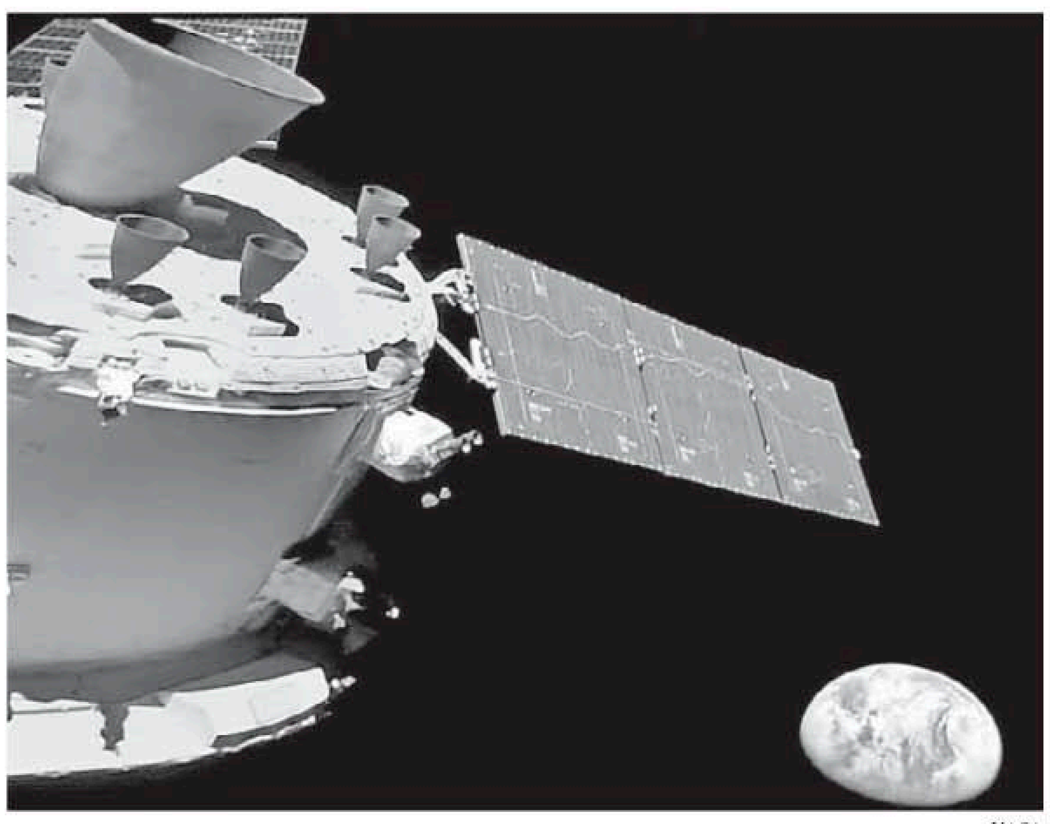
Wednesday's launch attempt followed two scrubbed attempts in August and September, one halted by an engine that appeared to be too warm, and the other involving a hydrogen leak in a fuel line. Hurricane Ian forced NASA to skip another launch window in late September and early October, and Hurricane Nicole prompted a delay of a couple of days before Wednesday's launch.

The countdown proceeded smoothly until a hydrogen leak in a new location popped up around 9:15 p.m. A "red crew" of two technicians and a safety officer went to the launchpad to tighten bolts on a valve, which stemmed the leak.

A faulty Ethernet switch also disrupted the countdown, cutting off data from a radar needed to track the rocket. The U.S. Space Force, which ensures the safety of rocket launches from the Kennedy Space Center, replaced the equipment, and the countdown resumed.

A final poll by Ms. Blackwell-Thompson confirmed the rocket was ready to go to space.

At 1:47 a.m., the four engines on the rocket's core stage ignited, along with two skinnier side boosters. As the countdown hit zero, clamps holding the rocket let go, and the vehicle slipped Earth's bonds.



NASA

A view of Earth, at a distance of nearly 50,000 miles, from the Orion spacecraft on Wednesday. This test flight has no crew.



KIM SHIFLETT/NASA

"We are all part of something incredibly special," the Artemis launch director, Charlie Blackwell-Thompson, told her team.

At liftoff, flames from the engines were incredibly bright, like giant welding torches.

"I'm telling you we'd never seen such a tail of flame," Mr. Nelson said.

As the rocket ascended, it produced a loud rumble that rolled across the space center.

A few minutes later, the side boosters and then the giant core stage separated. The rocket's upper stage engine then ignited to carry the Orion spacecraft, where astronauts will sit during later missions, toward orbit.

Less than two hours after launch, the upper stage fired one last time to send Orion on a path toward the moon. On Monday, Orion will pass within about 60 miles of the moon's surface. After going around the moon for a couple of weeks, Orion will head back to Earth, splashing down on Dec. 11 in the Pacific Ocean, about 60 miles off the coast of California.

"We've laid the foundation for the Artemis program and many generations to come," said John Honeycutt, the program manager for the Space Launch System rocket, in a news conference after the launch.

The next Artemis mission, which is to take four astronauts on a journey around the moon but not to the surface, will launch no earlier than 2024. Artemis III, in which two astronauts will land near the moon's south pole, is scheduled for 2025, though that date is very likely to slip.

In a report last year, the NASA inspector general estimated that by the time Artemis III returns from the moon, NASA will have spent $93 billion on the program, and that each launch will cost more than $4 billion. The cost overruns have been caused in part by technical problems, mismanagement and NASA's changing plans and schedules. And like the old Saturn V, the pricey Space Launch System rocket is used just once before falling into the ocean.

By streamlining the manufacturing, "we're hoping to get it to a cost of about $2 billion" per launch, Sharon Cobb, the associate program manager at NASA for the Space Launch System, said during an interview in August.

By contrast, SpaceX's Falcon Heavy rocket, while not as powerful as S.L.S., costs $90 million per launch. And SpaceX's Starship, a giant next-generation rocket currently under development that is also central to NASA's astronaut moon landing plans, is to be entirely reusable, and Mr. Musk has said, perhaps over-optimistically, a launch could eventually cost as little as $10 million.

For Artemis, NASA has taken a mix-and-match approach: a traditional program for the rocket and the crew capsule, and a commercial strategy for the lunar lander. NASA is purchasing from SpaceX, at a fixed price, a Starship flight to serve as the lander for the Artemis III mission later in the decade. Starship is to dock with Orion in orbit around the moon and take the two astronauts to the surface.

The delays and cost overruns of S.L.S. and Orion highlight the shortcomings in the way NASA has managed its programs, but Mr. Musk's company, for all of the impressive technological leaps it has made so far, is also not guaranteed to solve all the development challenges of Starship as quickly as Mr. Musk might hope.

His company has been fantastically successful with its Falcon 9 rocket, following on NASA's investment to take cargo and later astronauts to and from the International Space Station. The cargo contract provided a key infusion of money to Mr. Musk's company and bestowed NASA's imprimatur of approval when SpaceX was still little known and largely unproven. It now dominates the satellite-launching business.

For NASA, this was a big win, too. Because NASA is just one of many customers for SpaceX, SpaceX can offer much lower costs.

Those successes, however, do not guarantee that Starship will also succeed. If SpaceX stumbles, NASA's gamble on the company's new spacecraft risks leaving the United States' wasting its investment while still waiting for a moon lander for Artemis III.

Still, the sprawling expense of Artemis might be the cost of sustaining political support for a space program in a federal democracy, said Casey Dreier, the chief policy adviser for the Planetary Society, a nonprofit that promotes exploration of space. Even if Artemis is not the best or most efficient design, it provides jobs to the employees of NASA and aerospace companies across the country, he said. That provides continuing political support for the moon program.

"Congress has done nothing but add more money to Artemis every single year it's been in existence," Mr. Dreier said.

Politicians have so far faced little or no public outcry when voting to finance the Artemis missions. Even if it saved NASA money, the commercial approach could provoke greater opposition, feeding a perception that the agency has outsourced its space program to billionaires like Mr. Musk; Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon who started the rocket company Blue Origin; and Richard Branson, whose Virgin Galactic flies tourists on short suborbital flights.

Consider the ire of many people toward Mr. Bezos and Mr. Branson last year when they made suborbital trips to space built by the companies that were started with their wealth. That Mr. Branson and Mr. Bezos did not rely on federal financing to start their space tourism businesses did not assuage the anger that space seemed to be turning into the playground of the superwealthy.

Thus, a decision to turn to companies like SpaceX and Blue Origin could set off criticism that NASA was just adding to the wealth of billionaires who would one day escape from worldly troubles to private space stations and off-world colonies.

"By aligning our space program with very famous, idiosyncratic individuals, that could potentially be the bigger political risk, to me," Mr. Dreier said.

Commercial space advocates argue that history does not back up this dystopian view. Rather, they point to entrepreneurs a century ago who transformed aviation from a luxury available to only a few into safe, affordable transportation for almost everyone.

While private spaceflight proponents believe their approach will prevail, no one in Congress has yet pushed for canceling S.L.S. or Orion. The CHIPS and Science Act, signed into law by President Biden, calls for NASA to include the vehicles in plans to send astronauts to Mars and directs the agency to launch S.L.S. at least once a year.

NASA is currently negotiating with the rocket's manufacturers for up to 20 more launches.

"I think the program itself is shaping up to be very politically sustainable," Mr. Dreier said. "I challenge people to show me the public anger about the S.L.S. program and how it translates to political pressure to cancel it. And I just don't see it."

Military Cites More Abuse By J.R.O.T.C. Instructors

By NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS and MIKE BAKER

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon received documented reports of at least 58 instances in the last five years in which high school military instructors who led Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps classes sexually abused or harassed students, military officials told a congressional subcommittee on Wednesday in response to criticism that they had failed to properly oversee the program.

Assistant secretaries from the Army, Navy and Air Force, as well as the Department of Defense, testified before a House national security subcommittee, whose members grilled them about procedures for vetting instructors and rooting out abuse in the program, known as J.R.O.T.C. Hundreds of thousands of high school students are enrolled in the program in 3,500 high schools across the country. One congresswoman has floated the idea of temporarily shutting the program down.

The hearing followed a New York Times investigation in July that found that 33 instructors had been criminally charged with sexual misconduct involving student victims over five years. The Pentagon's higher number of substantiated allegations appeared to include additional instances in which the abuse or misconduct had not resulted in criminal charges. All 58 of those instructors had been decertified, the military officials reported, except for two who had killed themselves.

The military officials expressed their outrage at the abuse and said they had begun reviewing policies regarding J.R.O.T.C., which provides students with training in leadership, civic values, weapons handling and other skills.

Thomas A. Constable, the Defense Department's acting assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs, said the Pentagon expected to recommend a list of possible changes by the end of the year. He and the other military leaders said part of the problem was a lack of standardization across the branches in oversight, background investigations and coordination with school districts over how the programs are run.

The pledges were not enough for some lawmakers, including Representative Jackie Speier, Democrat of California, who was highly critical over The Times' findings, which included cases in which instructors targeted multiple victims, or were allowed to remain teaching despite complaints from students that were not thoroughly investigated.

"I'm not going to sugarcoat this: This is a scandal," Ms. Speier said, later adding: "In some respects, I feel we should just shut down this program until you can get it right."

She said the findings were particularly disturbing in light of long-running investigations of sexual abuse within the U.S. military.

"It is chilling to think that after we have been addressing this issue for over 10 years within the military — where we know that cases exceed 20,000 to 30,000 a year and over 5,000 report, and we know that the chain of command has been part of the problem — to come and see this going on in our classrooms, in high school, is traumatizing to me, to be quite honest," she said.

Military leaders and members of Congress said that when run successfully, the program was a vital way to teach teenagers life skills, discipline and leadership, and to expose them to military careers at a time when recruiting has become an increasing challenge. But the lawmakers said military officials had not taken reports of abuse seriously enough and had largely placed the responsibility of uncovering bad behavior on school districts.

The Times investigation detailed how the military certifies instructors — all retired veterans, many after lengthy careers in the armed services — but then takes a hands-off approach, turning supervision over to the schools. Instructors often grow close to their students, becoming mentors and leading extracurricular activities off campus or outside normal school hours. Those bonds can help guide students through difficult periods of high school or give them a positive role model, but they can also lead to problems when instructors use those positions to abuse their students.

The subcommittee in its own investigation found that all of the military branches had failed to conduct annual inspections of every program, as is required by the Defense Department. Military officials suggested on Wednesday that more funding would allow them to hire more staff members to inspect the programs more frequently.

The Army runs the largest of the J.R.O.T.C. programs, and Yvette K. Bourcicot, the Army's acting assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs, said taking J.R.O.T.C. at a high school in a suburb of Washington, D.C., had set her on a path toward a top Army leadership role. She said that she found the recent reports of abuse very worrisome.

"J.R.O.T.C. instructor mistreatment of cadets is particularly egregious because of the faith and confidence that the Army, parents, students and the nation place in those teachers," Ms. Bourcicot said. She noted that the Army had enhanced its background checks, in 2014, for employees who regularly deal with children, including J.R.O.T.C. instructors. She said that the Army was preparing to roll out annual attestation forms to instructors in which they would promise to "uphold Army values."

Alex Wagner, the Air Force's assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs, said that 92 percent of the Air Force's instructors are men, despite the fact that about 40 percent of cadets are women, and that the branch was prioritizing the hiring of more female instructors. He said the Air Force was also reviewing its vetting processes and would start including information about how to contact J.R.O.T.C. headquarters on the consent forms that parents and students sign at the beginning of the school year.

Still, by the end of the nearly

At least 58 instances of sexually assaulting or harassing students.

two-hour hearing, Representative Glenn Grothman of Wisconsin, the ranking Republican on the committee, was among several lawmakers who expressed dissatisfaction with the officials' responses, saying he was disappointed that the military seemed to "lack a sense of urgency."

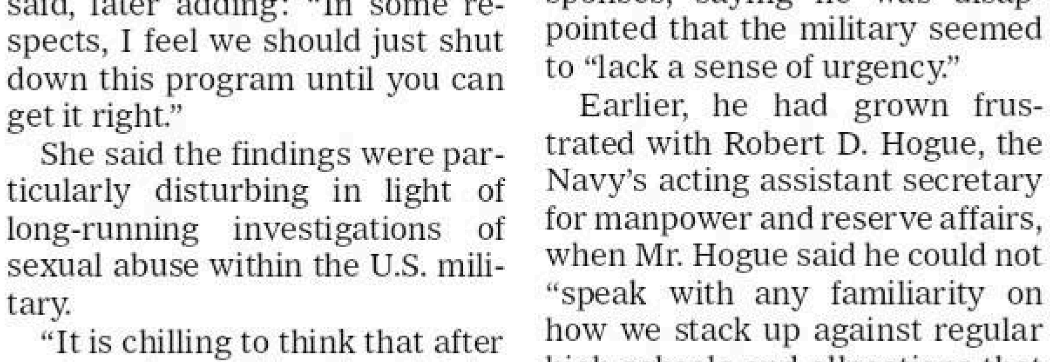
Earlier, he had grown frustrated with Robert D. Hogue, the Navy's acting assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs, when Mr. Hogue said he could not "speak with any familiarity on how we stack up against regular high schools and allegations that are faced within districts concerning teachers."

The Times had reported that the percentage of J.R.O.T.C. instructors who were criminally prosecuted for sexual misconduct involving student victims was higher than the rate of civilian high school teachers in several jurisdictions that were examined.

Mr. Hogue said the Navy was alarmed and concerned by every instance of abuse, but that local police and school districts were primarily responsible for investigating misconduct by instructors.

Jacey Antokoletz, one of the young women interviewed for The Times's report about being sexually abused by her J.R.O.T.C. instructor when she was a high school junior in Brewster, N.Y., said the hearing was a welcome sign that politicians were taking her and other victims' experiences seriously.

"I'm glad that they're hammering down so hard on it," said Ms. Antokoletz, who is now 23 and working as an accountant. "I'm happy to be part of coming forward so that more attention can be drawn to the issue, but it really is unfortunate that it took the article coming out to even address that this is going on."



MARY F. CALVERT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

J.R.O.T.C. cadets in Orlando in 2021. A House panel on Wednesday grilled military officials about oversight of instructors.

House Weighs Historic Bid to Add Cherokee Nation Delegate

By EMILY COCHRANE and MARK WALKER

WASHINGTON — A House committee on Wednesday weighed a proposal to seat a delegate from the Cherokee Nation in Congress, holding a historic hearing that grappled with how to uphold a promise made in a nearly 200-year-old treaty that has yet to be fulfilled.

The hearing, held by the House Rules Committee, was part of a push to allow Kim Teehee, a veteran policy aide and a longtime Cherokee Nation official, to be seated in the coming months as a nonvoting delegate in the House, which would add the first delegate from a tribal nation ever to serve there.

The effort has prompted members of Congress to confront some of the darkest moments in American history and the string of broken promises to Indigenous people across the nation.

If it granted the position to Ms. Teehee, 54, the House would fulfill a once-overlooked stipulation in the Treaty of New Echota, which forced the nation to relinquish its ancestral lands in the South. The treaty led the U.S. government to force 16,000 members of the Cherokee Nation on the Trail of Tears, a deadly trek to land in what is now Oklahoma. A quarter of those forced to leave — about 4,000 — died before they arrived, as a result of harsh conditions, starvation and disease.

But the treaty, ratified by just a single vote in the Senate and signed by President Andrew Jackson in 1836, also declared that the Cherokee Nation would be "entitled to a delegate in the House of Representatives of the United States whenever Congress shall make provision for the same."

Congress has never done so.

Ms. Teehee, whose ancestors survived that treacherous march, was on hand in the committee room on Wednesday to listen to a series of questions about the complexity of establishing another delegate position.

"It can be pretty overwhelming to think about, when I think about what was what was bargained for and what was lost as a result of that particular treaty right," Ms. Teehee said in an interview before the hearing. "I think about my family's history — the poverty, the loss of life, all the struggles that occurred as a result of that forced removal."

"The final outcome being the seating of the actual delegate in



AL DRAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kim Teehee, center, a longtime Cherokee Nation official, during Wednesday's hearing in Washington on her push to become the first nonvoting delegate from a tribal nation to serve in the House.

the House would give some small measure of justice for those, including my own ancestors, who lost their lives during that forced march," she added.

Delayed by the pandemic and mindful that a new Congress in January may force them to restart the process, tribal leaders have accelerated their campaign to have a vote on the House floor to approve her seat. Indigenous people across the United States have emerged as an increasingly powerful voting bloc with notable influence, with representatives in the highest levels of the federal government, and lawmakers on Wednesday were receptive to taking up legislation in the coming weeks.

"As I study this issue, I believe is the right thing to do — it's the moral thing to do," said Representative Jim McGovern, Democrat of Massachusetts and the chairman of the House Rules Committee. He said he believed there was bipartisan support to allow for the seating of the delegate even with Republicans set to take control of the House in January.

Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California said that Democrats would "continue to explore a path toward welcoming a delegate from the Cherokee Nation into the People's House," adding that her members were "committed to correcting the profound injustices of the past."

Representative Tom Cole, Republican of Oklahoma, who reflected on his own Chickasaw ancestors and their tumultuous relationship with the federal government, said he was "glad to see tribes advocating for their treaties with such conviction."

"It's never too late to do the right thing," he said, adding that the hearing had been "extraordinarily helpful and clarifying."

Should Ms. Teehee be seated, she would join the ranks of a half-dozen delegates, including from the District of Columbia, Guam,

A long quest for a seat and 'some small measure of justice.'

and the Virgin Islands, who are able to introduce legislation and sit on committees, but cannot vote on the House floor. Ms. Teehee said she would not pursue the right to a floor vote, in part because of concerns about dual representation for Cherokee citizens already represented by the lawmaker in whose district they reside.

Unlike those delegates, however, Ms. Teehee was named to the post by Chuck Hoskin Jr., the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation in August 2019 and was confirmed unanimously by the Cherokee Nation Tribal Council.

During the hearing, lawmakers questioned experts in Indigenous and congressional law about the precedent for seating a delegate who has not been elected, as well as the mechanics for establishing such a position. Both Mr. McGovern and Mr. Cole, as well as other lawmakers on the panel, signaled a preference for taking a vote to seat a delegate. Among the options, experts said, was including creation of the position in the House rules package that governs the chamber proceedings, although that would require a new vote every two years.

Mr. Hoskin, who was among those brought to testify before the panel, said he would be open to such a step, especially if lawmakers continued to pursue more permanent legislation.

"It'd be breathtaking for the next Congress to say we're going to then break this promise," Mr. Hoskin told the panel. "Now, I'm a tribal leader — I know my history and the United States has broken a promise or two."

"But I think in the 21st century, when this House of Representatives seats Kim Teehee, there won't be another Congress that will dare break that promise to the Cherokee Nation," he added.

Lawmakers also raised questions about whether seating a delegate from the Cherokee Nation would open opportunities for other tribes to pursue similar representation. The Delaware Nation, which signed a treaty with the United States in 1778, and the Choctaw Nation, which signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek of 1830, may have similar rights to a delegate in the House and have already reached out to lawmakers, Mr. McGovern said.

But it appeared that the House would first focus on the right raised by the Cherokee Nation. After Ms. Teehee was named as a delegate in 2019, she went to Washington for a series of meetings on Capitol Hill to begin educating lawmakers about the position.

Those meetings, however, were cut short by the pandemic, during which Ms. Teehee and Cherokee leaders turned their focus to lobbying for resources to protect their members as the coronavirus spread. With the end of the current Congress approaching, however, the Cherokee Nation has revamped its efforts to see Ms. Teehee seated.

Ms. Teehee grew up in Claremore, Okla., with parents who still speak the Cherokee language. She still collects American currency issued between 1915 and 1919, all signed by Houston Benge Teehee, a distant relative and the first Native American to serve as registrar for the Treasury.

While Ms. Teehee studied law and political science, she said it was her experience as an intern for Wilma Mankiller, the first woman to serve as the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, that led her to work on tribal policy in Washington.

She worked as a senior adviser to Representative Dale Kildee, Democrat of Michigan, when he helped lead the bipartisan House Native American Caucus, before becoming the first senior policy adviser for Native American affairs under President Barack Obama. In that role, she helped craft a series of tribal initiatives, including policies intended to reduce violence against Indigenous women and ensure that offenders were prosecuted.

"However effective I might have been in my career, it can't be fully realized until you have a seat at the table," Ms. Teehee said. She added, "We just want the treaty right honored."

Prosecutor Impeached In Dispute Over Crime

By JACEY FORTIN

On the brink of potentially losing their majority for the first time in more than a decade, Republicans in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives on Wednesday voted overwhelmingly to impeach Larry Krasner, the progressive district attorney of Philadelphia, who has clashed with conservatives for years over his approach to crime.

The 107-85 vote, mostly along party lines, was the result of an extraordinary — and likely futile — effort to remove the top elected law enforcement official in one of America's largest cities during a lame-duck session, with control of the House still in the balance. Two razor-tight races that could tilt the chamber to Democrats remain uncalled after last week's election.

The House's action will send the matter to the State Senate, which Republicans control — though not with the two-thirds majority that would be needed to convict and remove Mr. Krasner, who won reelection last year to a second four-year term.

"History will harshly judge this anti-democratic, authoritarian effort to erase Philly's votes — votes by Black, brown and broke people in Philadelphia," Mr. Krasner said in a statement after the vote on Wednesday. "And voters will have the last word."

The Senate, where enthusiasm for Mr. Krasner's removal appears lower even among many Republicans, now finds itself in the unusual situation of determining whether and when to hold a trial, and is expected to caucus to determine next steps.

"I am not aware of any precedents where this has happened, where there's a lame duck, after-the-fact call up of impeachment," said Stephen Ross, a law professor at Penn State University. "So this is somewhat unprecedented. And it is basically up to the Pennsylvania Senate to decide what the procedural rules are."

Shaakirrah Sanders, a visiting professor at Penn State Dickinson Law, said the State Constitution is not clear on what the Senate is required to do, especially since the current session ends this month. "It seems that would be way too quick to ensure the due process rights of the sitting district attorney," she said.

Mr. Krasner was first elected in 2017 as part of a wave of progressive prosecutors ushered into office across the country, amid growing public concerns about racism and over-incarceration in the U.S. criminal justice system. His office has drawn the ire of many conservatives by declining to prosecute some low-level offenses, such as drug possession and prostitution, and seeking more lenient sentences than his predecessors.

Republicans have sought to blame Mr. Krasner for a surge of gun violence in Philadelphia over the past few years, a trend that was common in cities across the United States during the coronavirus pandemic, including those with more traditional prosecutors.

"For one individual to completely set aside entire categories of law, as has been done in Philadelphia, is the height of the arrogance of power, and a complete undermining of the rule of law," said Representative Timothy R. Bonner, a Republican who supported impeachment.

More than 400 people have been killed in Philadelphia this year, and there have been more than 1,000 carjackings. Representative Martina White, a Republican who represents part of northeast Philadelphia, was the prime sponsor of the impeachment resolution, and last month accused Mr. Krasner of being "responsible for the rise in crime across our city."

The prosecutor easily won reelection last year with significant support from Black voters in the northern and western parts of the city — neighborhoods that have been the most affected by gun violence. According to his office, homicides in Philadelphia have declined by 5 percent from a year ago today, and crime rates are lower than in the 1990s.

Democrats accused Republicans of abusing the impeachment process to damage Democrats running for office. "Impeachment now seems to be a measure that we're using when we have a disagreement on public policy," said Joanna E. McClinton, the House's leading Democrat, whose district includes parts of Philadelphia.

Though no Pennsylvania lawmaker has been impeached in recent years, Republican lawmakers raised the prospect of trying to remove Gov. Tom Wolf, a Democrat, for his handling of the coronavirus pandemic, and threatened to impeach Philadelphia election officials for their management of ballot counting during the 2020 presidential election.

Campbell Robertson contributed reporting.

Bipartisan Effort to Protect Same-Sex Unions Passes Key Senate Test

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sage in the Senate, and then return to the House, which must clear it and send it to President Biden for his signature. But the legislation has overcome the biggest obstacle to its enactment: the 60-vote threshold in the 50-50 Senate.

Even as the test vote reflected bipartisan support for the measure, the vast majority of Republicans, including Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the minority leader, voted against it. Thirty-seven Senate Republicans voted no, illustrating that, while polling has found that more than 70 percent of Americans — including a majority of Republicans — support same-sex marriage, the issue remains politically untouchable for many G.O.P. lawmakers.

Mr. McConnell's vote in opposition to the measure was all the more notable, coming after he chastised his party in the wake of a disappointing election cycle for behavior that he said had alienated independent and moderate voters.

The bill would not require any state to allow same-sex couples to marry. But it would repeal the Defense of Marriage Act, which denied federal benefits to same-sex couples. The push to bring it up for a vote began over the summer, after Justice Clarence Thomas suggested in his opinion in the ruling that overturned the 50-year-old Roe v. Wade decision, which had established abortion rights, that the court also "should reconsider" precedents enshrining marriage equality and access to contraception.

Most Republicans balked at the vote, with many arguing that same-sex marriage rights were not under any immediate threat and that there was no urgency to pass legislation to safeguard them.

"I don't know why we're doing that bill; there's no threat to its status in America," Senator Marco Rubio, Republican of Florida, said over the summer. "I know plenty of gay people in Florida that are pissed off about gas prices."

Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas, dismissed the bill as a political stunt by Democrats to scare people into thinking "that somehow that decision by the Supreme Court is in jeopardy. I don't believe it is."

But on the Senate floor on Wednesday, as proponents spoke in sweeping terms about the importance of protecting what has been recognized as a fundamental



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Senator Tammy Baldwin, Democrat of Wisconsin, above left, maneuvered to win over moderate Republicans like Susan Collins of Maine, left, to advance the Respect for Marriage Act past the 60-vote threshold for a filibuster.

right, no Republican stood to make a substantive case against doing so.

Senator Tammy Baldwin, Democrat of Wisconsin and the lead sponsor of the legislation, said that gay people were "scared for good reason" about their rights being under threat, and the same legal arguments the conservative-leaning Supreme Court had employed to reverse Roe could just as easily be applied to other cases.

"The Supreme Court should not be in a position to undermine the stability of families with the stroke of a pen," said Ms. Baldwin, the first openly gay woman to be elected to the House and the Senate, noting that Justice Thomas in his concurring opinion "was essentially providing an open invitation to litigators across the country to bring their cases to the Supreme Court." Ms. Baldwin also noted that "cases often reach the Supreme Court faster than ever before."

Senator Susan Collins, Republican of Maine and one of the 12 Republican supporters of the bill, added that even without an imminent threat, "there is still value in ensuring that our federal laws reflect that same-sex and interracial couples have the right to have their marriages recognized, regardless of where they live in this country."

The successful vote on Wednesday marked an improbable outcome for a measure that had once been regarded as a mere messaging bill that had little chance of enactment given Republican opposition.

Democrats initially took up the measure as an election-year maneuver to show voters that they were doing everything possible to protect same-sex marriage rights in the face of new threats from a conservative Supreme Court.

Instead, it passed in the House in July with 47 Republicans joining Democrats in favor, and a bipartisan group in the Senate began talks on a version that could draw enough Republican backing in that chamber to move forward.

Momentum on the issue in the Senate, however, hit a snag in September when Democrats moved forward instead with the Inflation Reduction Act and Ms. Baldwin pressed Democratic leaders to delay a vote until after the elections. She told Mr. Schumer she felt more confident she could muster the 10 Republican votes necessary to break a Republican filibuster and move it through the evenly divided chamber if they waited.

That calculation irked some progressive Democrats, who said Republicans should have to answer to voters for their positions on the bill. Delaying it, for instance, spared Mr. Rubio and Senator Ron Johnson of Wisconsin, both of whom were up for re-election this year, a tough choice between embracing a measure that could anger their conservative base and opposing it, potentially alienating independent and moderate voters.

Still, Ms. Baldwin's gamble appeared to have paid off, with some Republican senators who last summer would not commit publicly to supporting the bill ultimately voting for it.

"They're important religious liberty protections that have been negotiated in, and that's why I supported it," Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, told reporters Wednesday.

The vote by Mr. Romney, a Mormon, came a day after the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints said it would back the legislation, a dramatic shift for an organization that historically has aggressively opposed gay rights.

Senate negotiators agreed to add language ensuring that churches, universities and other nonprofit religious organizations could not lose tax-exempt status or other benefits for refusing to recognize same-sex marriages and could not be required to provide services for the celebration of any marriage. They also added language to make clear that the bill does not require or authorize the federal government to recognize polygamous marriages.

On Wednesday, Mr. Schumer acknowledged that bringing the legislation to the floor ahead of the midterm elections would have ended as a "show vote" that would have brought a political reckoning but no real change for the American people.

Leaving the floor, Mr. Schumer said the vote tally was "vindication that it was worth the wait."

The Republican senators who ultimately voted for the measure on Wednesday were: Ms. Collins, Mr. Romney, Roy Blunt of Missouri, Richard M. Burr of North Carolina, Shelley Moore Capito of West Virginia, Cynthia Lummis of Wyoming, Rob Portman of Ohio, Dan Sullivan of Alaska, Thom Tillis of North Carolina, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, Joni Ernst of Iowa and Todd Young of Indiana.



TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Newly elected members on the House steps this week. The victory of Representative Mike Garcia of California pushed Republicans into the majority, more than a week after midterm polls closed.

Republicans Take House, but With Only a Slim Majority

From Page A1

election. "There was a strong rejection of election deniers, political violence and intimidation," he said.

In the House, Democratic incumbents last week displayed an uncanny durability from Michigan to Virginia to Kansas to Pennsylvania. If not for a series of court cases that affected new district lines in states like Florida, New York and Ohio, Republicans might not have won a majority at all. The Democratic Party's struggles in New York, where Republican gains included knocking off the chairman of the House Democratic campaign committee, also bolstered the Republican takeover.

Still, there is a saying in Congress that the only number that matters in the House is 218 — and Republicans will enter 2023 with at least that many votes, ushering in a new era of divided government.

"Voters hate division and dysfunction, and they just voted for two more years of it," said Chris Kofinis, a Democratic political strategist and former chief of staff to Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia.

Democrats have ceded the House after just four years in charge. The party, led by Speaker Nancy Pelosi, won power in the first midterm under President Donald J. Trump and gave it back in Mr. Biden's first midterm. It was the same length of time — four years — that Democrats last held the chamber, between the 2006 and 2010 elections, and a sign of the continued volatility of American politics.

This year, Republicans had needed to flip only five seats to claim the majority in the chamber, and they were competing in dozens of Democratic-leaning districts in the weeks leading up to the election. A super PAC aligned with the House Republican leadership had out-raised its Democratic counterpart by nearly $90 million, giving the party a financial edge.

Yet a Republican majority had not been cemented until more than a week after the election.

"Did we want something much bigger?" Mr. McCarthy said on Tuesday. "Yeah, we did."

Among Republicans, finger-pointing over the party's shortcomings, in both the House and Senate, had already begun in earnest. Some blamed the party's messaging. Others took aim at the large role that Mr. Trump has continued to play in the party after Republicans lost the House, Senate during his first term, and the White House at the end of it. Undaunted, Mr. Trump announced another run for president on Tuesday at his private club in Florida.

The political dynamics in Washington in 2023 will be very different with Republicans leading the House. The slenderness of the new Republican majority has raised questions about both Mr. McCarthy's ability to take the speaker's gavel in January and his ability to govern, as a far-right faction is already making demands of him.

Mr. McCarthy, 57, resoundingly won a closed-door nomination vote to become the next speaker, dispatching the protest candidacy of Representative Andy Biggs, Republican of Arizona, who was an influential figure in the efforts to overturn the 2020 election results on behalf of Mr. Trump.

Mr. McCarthy won the secret-ballot vote 188 to 31. But that vote was the easy part.

To officially claim the speakership, he will require the nearly unanimous support of his conference in a formal floor vote in January. The narrow Republican majority means he can afford to lose an excruciatingly small number of dissenters, greatly empowering his internal critics.

The only number that matters in the House is 218, a saying goes.

Among them is Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida, a close Trump ally, who said on Tuesday that he would oppose Mr. McCarthy on the floor in January and that there was "a critical mass" of similar McCarthy opponents.

"To believe that Kevin McCarthy is going to be speaker, you have to believe he's going to get votes in the next six weeks that he couldn't get in the last six years," Mr. Gaetz said.

The future for the Democratic leader, Ms. Pelosi, 82, is also uncertain. In October, her husband was the victim of a violent attack inside their San Francisco home, where he was hit with a hammer and hospitalized.

In an interview over the weekend on ABC News, Ms. Pelosi said, "I don't have any plans to step away from Congress." She makes little effort to mask her disdain for her potential successor, Mr. McCarthy, and his ability to serve as House speaker, a powerful post that is second in the presidential line of succession.

"No, I don't think he has it," Ms. Pelosi said on CNN over the weekend, when asked if Mr. McCarthy had what it takes to be speaker. "But that's up to his own people to make a decision as to how they want to be led or otherwise."

Democratic control of the Senate ensures that whatever Mr. McCarthy and the Republicans push through is likely to be dead on arrival in the upper chamber.

With a Senate under Democratic control, Mr. Biden will continue to be able to have his cabinet and judicial appointments confirmed, including any potential Supreme Court vacancies. In the House, Republicans will now have broad subpoena power to initiate investigations into the Biden administration, and Mr. McCarthy has signaled that they are eager to do so.

The relationship between Mr. Biden and Mr. McCarthy as their parties' most powerful leaders in Washington got off to an inauspicious start.

Mr. Biden told reporters that he called Mr. McCarthy right after the election and said, "If you win the majority, congratulations. But congratulations — so far, you've made some gains." Mr. McCarthy characterized it differently on Fox News: "He congratulated me, so for anyone who thinks we didn't win the majority, Joe at least believes we did as well."

NEWS ANALYSIS

Winning May Have Been Easy Part

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Republicans managed to make their victory in the House seem like a loss by underperforming so badly. But while they did not win control by anywhere near the margin that they anticipated, they did win. And in the House, even the barest majority can work its will if it can hold together to produce 218 votes.

The main question going forward is whether Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, who was nominated on Tuesday to lead the new Republican majority, can achieve the unity necessary to perform fundamental tasks such as funding the government, or whether unyielding far-right members will make the new speaker's life miserable and the House an unmanageable mess.

The likely single-digit-seat victory will allow Republicans to claim power — including subpoena power — set the agenda, run the committees and try to hold President Biden's feet to the fire with a string of promised investigations.

Despite their underwhelming showing, Republicans are unlikely to be chastened into cooperating with Mr. Biden and no doubt will plunge ahead aggressively once they get their hands on the gavels. For many, that was the point of the election. Their agenda is investigative, not legislative.

"We must be relentless in our oversight of this administration," Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 House Republican, wrote in a letter to colleagues. "From the politicization of the Justice Department to the job-crushing regulations coming from every agency, we need to shine a bright light on the actions and policy failures of this administration."

For Mr. McCarthy, his party's win came in the worst possible way. The much thinner than expected majority means fewer Republicans from swing districts who might be averse to provoking chaos, making him more reliant on the fire-breathing hard-right members who triumphed in safe, ruby-red districts on the promise of political warfare against Mr. Biden.

At the same time, he will need to protect the less incumbent freshmen, such as the newcomers from New York who will be the top targets of Democrats beginning almost immediately.

The margin and the mix could combine to make the House all but ungovernable.

"It is going to be hard," said Representative Fred Upton, a retiring Republican centrist from Michigan, about the task ahead for the new leaders, who are already contending with demands from the right to agree to restrictions that would severely limit their power. "It is going to be really hard, especially when it comes to producing results."

The only results that interest many in the House majority are those that inflict political pain on Mr. Biden and congressional Democrats, as demanded by their MAGA constituents. In a closed-door meeting of Republicans on Monday, right-wing lawmakers including Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia extracted a promise that their leaders would investigate Speaker Nancy Pelosi and the Justice Department for their treatment of defendants jailed in connection with the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol.

But the new leadership cannot do only investigations. They still have to find some "yes" votes to approve spending bills and other legislation that must pass to keep the government running, when many of their members are very accustomed to voting "no" on just about everything.

Republicans have shut down the government over spending disputes and faced down Democratic administrations over raising the federal debt limit since the rise and fall of Newt Gingrich in the House in the 1990s. In the past, more government-minded Republicans such as Mr. Upton could be relied upon to step up and supply the votes needed to resolve a crisis. But the ranks of pragmatists have been severely depleted, replaced by lawmakers who would like nothing more than a game of fiscal chicken, no matter the risks to an already shaky economy.

Already, House Republicans are pushing the incoming team to agree to rules changes that could hamstring the leadership in their ability to bring bills to the floor, an approach that could threaten necessary legislation, such as an increase in the debt limit. Republican leaders could — and probably would be forced to — seek votes from Democrats, but too many concessions or too much cooperation across the aisle will likely spark a rebellion from within.



ANNA ROSE LAYDEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana called upon colleagues to "be relentless" in the oversight of the administration.

Not to mention that House Democrats, feeling good about their own election showing, will not be in a big hurry to rescue Republican leaders from their own troops without getting something for it.

The Democratic majority in the Senate will only make the House speaker's life more difficult. Democrats are emboldened by the fact that they were able to hold — and potentially increase — the Senate majority in the face of historical trends. They want to flex those muscles by pushing ahead on legislative initiatives like the ones they believe led them to victory. Democratic control of the Senate also means that committees in the chamber will not be running parallel investigations into the administration as Republicans had hoped.

Senator Chuck Schumer, the New York Democrat who will remain as majority leader, has invited Republicans to try to work with Democrats on legislative initiatives, but it seems unlikely that House Republicans will want to take advantage of his offer. The divide is just too wide.

The gulf between Republicans and Democrats just expanded a bit in the Senate as well.

When the Senate convenes in January, the G.O.P. ranks will not include Senators Rob Portman of Ohio, Roy Blunt of Missouri or Richard M. Burr of North Carolina — veteran mainstream Republicans upon whom Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the minority leader, could rely to cast difficult votes on must-pass bills. They will be replaced with Senators-elect J.D. Vance of Ohio, Eric Schmitt of Missouri and Ted Budd of North Carolina, each of whom received the enthusiastic endorsement of former President Donald J. Trump.

The Senate newcomers will be joined by, among others, Senator-elect Markwayne Mullin of Oklahoma, a congressman who belongs to the ultraconservative House Freedom Caucus, and potentially Herschel Walker of Georgia, another Trump acolyte, should he prevail in the Dec. 6 runoff.

At the same time, Mr. McConnell is likely to be under constant attack from Mr. Trump, who has called repeatedly for his ouster. He already faced a mini-rebellion in his own ranks, with a leadership challenge from Senator Rick Scott of Florida, who oversaw the Senate Republican campaign arm. Although Mr. McConnell prevailed, his actions will continue to be under great scrutiny as the Republican Party battles over its identity.

The election results are still being microscopically analyzed by both parties to discern the messages from voters, which could inform how party leaders proceed over the next two years with a presidential contest on the horizon. But one thing is already clear: With an almost nonexistent majority in the House, Republicans are in for a rough ride, and it will be a challenge to get even the most basic work of Congress done.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump's Choice to Run Is the Ultimate in Avoiding Responsibility

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

Cascading midterm losses rippled from east to west — Pennsylvania, Michigan, Arizona, Washington. Recriminations from fellow Republicans poured in. A rival's star continued to rise in Florida.

Yet when Donald J. Trump stepped onto the flag-bedecked stage at his gilded Palm Beach palace on Tuesday evening to declare that he would run for president again, it was as if none of it had happened.

The former president cannot stop trying to make his own reality and cannot start accepting responsibility for his actions or acknowledging their consequences. In the heads-I-win-tails-you-lose world of Mr. Trump, all successes accrue to him, and any failings are someone else's fault — the 2018 midterms, when Democrats took back the House; his own presidential loss in 2020; and now 2022, the worst showing of a party out of power in two decades.

In that sense, with the smoke still rising on a national rebuke, the choreographed conviviality on Tuesday night was the ultimate in not taking responsibility.

Instead, Mr. Trump spun out an alternate vision where the news media has not reported all his successes and where much of the blame for the party's shortcomings in the midterms "is correct," though none of that blame belongs to him. And while the country, he told supporters, has slid from greatness to abject embarrassment in two short years, its citizens "have not yet realized the full extent and gravity of the pain our nation is going through" — a suggestion that voters would have punished the party in power if they had only shared his understanding of President Biden's depravity.

He showed, in other words, that the word "loser" remains his ultimate epithet.

"If he thinks he can win in 2024, he is going to run in 2024, and I doubt there is anyone who can change his mind on that," said Mick Mulvaney, an acting chief of staff in Mr. Trump's White House. "The question is whether, in light of 2018, 2020 and last week, is he — himself, and no one else — starting to recognize that if the presidential election were held today, he would probably lose."

Mr. Mulvaney added, "A lot of folks think that, myself included, but we don't matter."

Mr. Trump's handpicked candidates for the Senate in Pennsylvania, Arizona and Nevada lost. His most ardent and loyal followers fell short — some far short — in their quests for the governorships of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin and Arizona. Two of his revenge picks to knock off House Republicans who voted to impeach him lost critical general election races in Michigan and Washington.

And his unwavering insistence that Republicans run in 2022 on the false claim that victory was stolen from him in 2020 helped turn a referendum on President Biden's political stewardship into a choice between continuance of control for a stumbling Democratic Party or a transfer of power to a Republican Party that many voters found beyond the pale.

To Mr. Trump, none of that had any bearing on his desire to return to power.

"He's in his late 70s and has never taken responsibility his entire life," said Peter J. Wehner, a senior aide in George W. Bush's White House and a prominent conservative critic of Mr. Trump. "The idea that he will take responsibility now stretches credibility."

History makes the point.

"I don't take responsibility at all," Mr. Trump said in March 2020 of the government's faltering response to the rampaging coronavirus, as he pinned the blame on Barack Obama, who had left office nearly four years before.

"People thought that what I said was totally appropriate," Mr. Trump said in Texas, six days after his supporters violently ransacked the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, as he dismissed any notion that his exhortations to march on Capitol Hill had any consequences.

Caught on tape bragging about sexually assaulting women — "when you're a star, they let you" — Mr. Trump brought women who once accused Bill Clinton of misconduct to a debate in 2016 with Hillary Clinton, a classic in the blame-shifting genre.

After a botched special operations raid in Yemen left a Navy SEAL, Chief Petty Officer William Ryan Owens, and several civilians dead, Mr. Trump said of his generals in 2017, "This was something they wanted to do," adding, "and they lost Ryan."

Asked that year why Republicans had failed to enact health care legislation, he declared, "We're not getting the job done, and I'm not going to blame myself, I'll be honest."

Allegations of tax fraud and accounting malfeasance at his company, the Trump Organization? That was all the doing of Allen H. Weisselberg, its former chief financial officer. Strong-arming Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, into announcing an investigation of his political rival? "A perfect call." Absconding with classified documents from the White House? Those were his.

"Do you understand why they took those items from you?" a kindergarten teacher pretended to ask the former president in a spoof TikTok video. "No, not for no reason, friend. Those did not belong to you. You took them home, and you were not supposed to, so they took them back, the F.B.I."

Mr. Trump's unwillingness to take responsibility for six years has been met with willing partners in the Republican Party. Responding to unending charges of Mr. Trump's wrongdoing, his allies initiated deflecting investigations of their own, into China's culpability for the pandemic, Speaker Nancy Pelosi's failings on Jan. 6 and the "collusions" of Mr. Biden's son Hunter with Russia.

With the failure of the Republicans' promised "red wave," there may yet be consequences for the former president, whether he accepts them or not. As Republican senators stare at another two years in the minority, or as a Republican House frets over governing next year with a razor-thin majority, Mr. Trump's erstwhile allies may re-evaluate their support. And some of them may see Florida's newly reelected Republican governor, Ron DeSantis, as an alternative.

"I don't think that's the right question," Senator Cynthia Lummis, Republican of Wyoming, snapped on Monday when a reporter asked if she would endorse Mr. Trump's new run. "I think the question is who is the current leader of the Republican Party. Oh, I know who it is: Ron DeSantis."

In that, South Carolina's Mark Sanford, a Republican former governor who was driven out of Congress for criticizing Mr. Trump, sees a possible break with past patterns. He pointed to Club for Growth, a mainstream conservative political action committee, daring to email out four new polls on Monday that show Mr. DeSantis leading Mr. Trump among potential primary voters in the G.O.P.

"You've watched people contort themselves to fit into Trump's orbit, to not be in his cross hairs," Mr. Sanford said. "But the carnage has become so widespread, it's metastasized to such an extent that people who thought it was someone else's problem now understand it's theirs."

Mr. Wehner, the senior aide in the Bush White House, pointed not only to Republican lawmakers who have said that it is time the party move on from Mr. Trump, but also to conservative media outlets that have been remarkably critical, including The New York Post, The Wall Street Journal and Fox News.

"It's completely cynical," Mr. Wehner said. "They're now breaking with him not because he's done anything unethical or immoral — he's been doing that for decades. It's simply because they are now making the judgment that he is no longer the path to power."

A colleague of Mr. Wehner's in the Bush White House, John Bridgeland, struck a more optimistic tone.

"After violating so many democratic norms and values, and misunderstanding our democratic institutions, perhaps President Trump can look in the mirror, finally respect the will of the people and stand down from his ambitions," Mr. Bridgeland said on Tuesday, ahead of Mr. Trump's announcement.

In light of what unfolded at Mar-a-Lago, that felt more like the wishful thinking of a born optimist than the judgment of a seasoned student of Mr. Trump.

"Many, many people have told him before that his political career was over," Mr. Mulvaney said. "And all of them have been wrong up to now."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAUL MARTINEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Former President Donald J. Trump has not accepted any of the blame for the failure of his party's promised "red wave" in the midterms. At left, the rapper Forgiato Blow at Mar-a-Lago in Palm Beach, Fla., for Mr. Trump's announcement of another run.

Former Allies Hold Back On Trump '24 Campaign

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said Gov. Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas, a Republican and Trump critic who spoke Wednesday from Iowa, where he is testing the waters for a presidential run in 2024. "We need alternatives."

A growing chorus of Republican officials, lawmakers and activists blame the former president for their failure to regain control of the Senate and for what is shaping up as their narrow margin in the House.

The scope of the Republican losses has prompted some of his allies to publicly voice complaints they have long kept private about the former president's ability to win the White House. For those who have been more vocal, their concerns have morphed into far more direct attacks as they try to seize what they see as a chance to move past Mr. Trump and embrace a new class of party leaders.

At a gathering of Republican governors in Orlando, donors and lobbyists mingled with governors past, present and future while weighing ways to wrest Mr. Trump from the party's base. Their main complaint was not over policy or style, but losses the party has taken since Mr. Trump won the White House in 2016.

Gov. Kristi Noem of South Dakota, a Republican often mentioned as a potential 2024 candidate, said she did not believe Mr. Trump offered "the best chance" for the party in 2024.

"If we narrow our focus there, then we're not talking to every single American," Ms. Noem said in an interview as she sat across a mahogany table from her political adviser, Corey Lewandowski, who served as campaign manager for an early portion of Mr. Trump's 2016 bid. "Our job is not just to talk to people who love Trump or hate Trump. Our job is to talk to every single American."

Representative Mo Brooks of Alabama, a former Trump ally who spoke at the Jan. 6, 2021, rally that preceded the attack on the Capitol, put it more bluntly in a phone interview: "In 2020, there was no other option. In 2024 we will have candidates who are vastly superior and will do much, much better competing against the Democrat nominee than the loser Donald Trump has proven himself to be."

Whether the complaints filter down to a Republican Party base that has long stuck by Mr. Trump remains to be seen. Predictions of his demise among the party's rank and file have long been undone by primary results, particularly in this year's Senate contests. Officials who are closest to the party's base — state legislators and county G.O.P. leaders loyal to Mr. Trump — said Wednesday that they had not seen the sort of defections predicted by the Republican elite gathered in the swanky conference rooms of a Waldorf Astoria hotel within a stone's throw of Disney World.

"I haven't had anybody express their dissatisfaction with Trump since the midterms," said Terry Brand, the Republican chairman in Langlade County in rural northern Wisconsin. "The people that supported Trump in 2016 and 2020, the real supporters, they're going to support him again."

But even his allies say they have not seen a rush to the bandwagon either.

"I am not seeing a riptide of support going out with the president," said Kenneth T. Cuccinelli, who served in Mr. Trump's Homeland Security Department.

The transformation of Mr. Trump's position in the party over the past week has been striking — and his campaign kickoff appears to have done little to silence the criticism.

Georgia Republicans have made it clear that they prefer that Mr. Trump stay away from campaigning on behalf of his old friend Herschel Walker in the state's Dec. 6 Senate runoff election. Gov. Brian Kemp, who has tangled with the former president over the 2020 election and said he hasn't spoken with him in years, said Mr. Trump's grievances directed attention away from winning the 2021 contests there. That cannot happen again, Mr. Kemp said.

"I don't think we need to be getting distracted," he said. "The last runoff, people got distracted and they were focused on other things besides winning the runoff. And you saw what happened to us. So my message to people is, don't worry about '24."

Three major party donors — Stephen Schwarzman, Ken Griffin and Ronald Lauder — said this week that they intended to back someone other than Mr. Trump or have no plans to support him this time. Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka said she would not be involved with his campaign, saying that she is "choosing to prioritize" her children. Groups like the conservative Club for Growth, once a staunch Trump ally, are circulating polling showing Mr. Trump trailing Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida by double digits.

Other potential contenders — including former Vice President Mike Pence and Gov. Glenn Youngkin of Virginia — are reassessing their 2024 chances in the wake of the midterms. Another possible contender, Mike Pompeo, who was Mr. Trump's secretary of state, wrote on Twitter that Republicans needed "leaders who are looking forward, not staring in the rearview mirror claiming victimhood," a reference to Mr. Trump's declaration on Tuesday that "I'm a victim."

On Capitol Hill, some Republican lawmakers long loyal to Mr. Trump began a slow backpedal.

Representative Kevin McCarthy, who has tied his bid to become the next House speaker to Mr. Trump's political legacy, wouldn't say if he will endorse Mr. Trump for president. Senator Kevin Cramer of North Dakota, a staunch ally who won his 2018 election on the back of Mr. Trump's endorsement and support, said he was rooting for a wide-open presidential primary.

"I hope a lot of other people get in," Mr. Cramer said. "He's not entitled to the job."

Plenty of others jumped to Mr. Trump's side, however. They included not just his most fervent supporters — Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia and Representative Madison Cawthorn of North Carolina, who lost his primary — but rising stars, such as Wesley Hunt of Texas, one of two new Black Republicans elected to the House.

"Donald J. Trump is exactly the man America needs to save our nation from its rapid decline, courtesy of Joe Biden and the Democrat Party," Mr. Hunt wrote in a formal endorsement.

John Fredericks, a syndicated conservative talk-radio host who attended Mr. Trump's campaign event Tuesday, said Trump-endorsed Republicans who lost midterm elections had run lousy campaigns. He added that he had seen no evidence that Mr. Trump or his preferred candidates could be beaten in party primaries.

"Beat us," Mr. Fredericks said. "Stop talking, stop having meetings, get in the primaries, get into conventions, get into the delegate meetings and beat us. This is a populist party and there's no other candidate that we have except Donald Trump."

That wasn't the sentiment at the annual meeting of Republican governors.

"He's a loser," said Gov. Chris Sununu of New Hampshire, who won a commanding re-election victory last week. "He lost in 2020. And most Republicans agree with that."



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Kristi Noem of South Dakota, a potential 2024 candidate, worried that a Trump candidacy might alienate some voters: "Our job is not just to talk to people who love Trump or hate Trump."

A kickoff event does little to silence critics of a former president.

Former Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, a longtime-but-no-more Trump ally, received a standing ovation on Tuesday morning after he told a roomful of party donors, governors and strategists that Mr. Trump cost the party victory in the past three federal elections.

But in an interview hours later, Mr. Christie acknowledged that the former president might not have lost his grip on the party's base. "Primary voters need to understand the ramifications of another vote for Donald Trump," he said, not ruling out his own 2024 bid. "It will mean four more years of a Democratic president."

Polling indicates that about one-third of the Republican Party remains devoted to Mr. Trump, making it difficult for another candidate to oust him in a sprawling primary field. That explains why most elected Republicans have remained silent as they wait to see how far Mr. Trump gets.

"I am on the horns of a DeSantis-Trump dilemma," said Tom Tancredo, a Republican and former Colorado congressman who helped pioneer the anti-immigration politics that Mr. Trump successfully exploited. "I guess it will just boil down to which looks more electable by primary time." He said he thought that would be Mr. DeSantis.

Al Baldasaro, a retiring New Hampshire state representative and Trump campaign official, was at Mar-a-Lago on Tuesday, and was still brimming with excitement the day after. Of Mr. DeSantis and anyone else who challenges Mr. Trump in the primary, he predicted the former president would "eat them up."

Gov. Spencer Cox of Utah, who said he'd like Mr. DeSantis to enter the presidential race, warned that Mr. Trump posed a unique threat to the party — particularly if he does not end up as its nominee. "You have a candidate who isn't afraid to bring down the party," Mr. Cox said. "It's a different calculation for him than it is for my colleagues."

Biden's Team Ready To Go on Offensive With 'Trump Project'

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — With Donald J. Trump's announcement that he is officially running to reclaim the Oval Office he falsely asserts was stolen from him, President Biden is ready to implement what some of his top aides refer to as "the Trump project."

Mr. Biden has spent much of the last year putting a fearsome face on the "ultra-MAGA" agenda, taking aim at Republican senators, governors and state lawmakers. Now, he will return the focus to his once and future foil — Mr. "Make America Great Again" himself.

Inside the West Wing, a small group of presidential advisers has been working to develop a plan for how Mr. Biden and the White House will respond to what they expect will be a constant stream of invective from the former president now that he is formally a candidate.

Mr. Trump started the attacks almost immediately in his speech on Tuesday night announcing his presidential run, as he complained about "Biden and the radical-left lunatics running our government right into the ground."

Mr. Biden will continue to underscore his belief that Mr. Trump is a threat to democracy, advisers say. But his political handlers are determined to show that Mr. Trump's four years did not yield actual accomplishments for the American people.

On Tuesday, just hours before Mr. Trump's announcement, Mr. Biden's political Twitter account posted a video mocking the former president's claims that he was doing something about the nation's crumbling infrastructure. The video, titled "The difference between talking and delivering," showed Mr. Biden signing his $1 trillion infrastructure measure into law, juxtaposed with a compilation of clips of the former president using the word "infrastructure."

In the middle of Mr. Trump's speech, the Twitter account posted another video, titled "Donald Trump failed America," showing scenes of the Jan. 6, 2021, riot on Capitol Hill.

The effort to coordinate the Trump response has involved months of research and is being led by Anita Dunn, one of Mr. Biden's top communications strategists, and Jen O'Malley Dillon, who ran Mr. Biden's 2020 campaign and is now the deputy chief of staff at the White House.

Mr. Biden said last week that he "intends" to run in 2024 but would talk with his family before announcing a decision early next year.

Still, officials said Mr. Trump's presence in the race would motivate him to run again. Mr. Biden views his predecessor as a danger that needs to be stopped. He regularly notes that he is the only person who has ever defeated Mr. Trump, implying that he would have the best chance of doing it again. He has publicly said he would "not be disappointed" to face Mr. Trump in a rematch.

Mr. Biden was encouraged by the better-than-expected showing among Democrats during the midterm elections. But he remains deeply unpopular himself, according to polls, and he faces political headwinds: an economy still buffeted by inflation, a deepening war in Europe, and ongoing questions about whether he is too old for another term.

In the last year, as the midterm elections drew closer, Mr. Biden has focused increasingly on the movement that Mr. Trump created.

He assailed "300 discriminatory bills" passed by Republican legislatures. He lashed out at Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas for investigating transgender families. He accused Ron DeSantis, the Republican governor of Florida, of banning books; and Rick Scott, the state's Republican senator, of a secret plot to raise taxes on Americans.

At the Democratic National Committee, officials have kept an eye on the former president, even after he left Washington for his Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida. The party has assembled about 40 researchers to catalog every speech, radio address, TV appearance and newspaper article featuring Mr. Trump and other Republican candidates, in an effort to assemble the most comprehensive case against the former president and Republicans in the upcoming campaigns.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden departing Bali, Indonesia, on Wednesday. He has said he would welcome a rematch with Donald J. Trump.

On Tuesday, the D.N.C. announced that it would begin hiring staff in New Hampshire, Florida and other early primary states to hold Republican presidential candidates like Mr. Trump accountable for what they say as they begin campaigning for the White House in 2024.

It is the earliest the D.N.C. has started making local hires ahead of a presidential campaign, officials said.

"Today is just the kickoff to what will be a messy Republican primary, with candidates competing to be the most extreme MAGA Republican in the race," Jaime Harrison, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said in a statement. "The D.N.C. will be ready for them all."

Party officials said they would continue to highlight the actions of other potential Republican candidates, including Mr. DeSantis, along with longtime Trump supporters like Tucker Carlson, the right-wing Fox News host, and Mike Lindell, the owner of MyPillow, who backed Mr. Trump's claims of election fraud.

But Mr. Trump is a special case.

Mr. Biden has long said that his campaign for the presidency in 2020 was motivated by Mr. Trump. In the video announcing his campaign in 2019, Mr. Biden lambasted his rival for claiming a "moral equivalence between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it" following the 2017 white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Va.

But as president, Mr. Biden often tried to ignore the man he refers to as "the former guy." Mr.

A plan to meticulously illustrate the failings of 'the former guy.'

Trump's formal entry into the race could bring an end to Mr. Biden's restraint, as some Democrats invariably will press him to call out Mr. Trump loudly and repeatedly.

The former president and the MAGA movement he created were central topics in the midterm elections, even without a formal announcement of Mr. Trump's own candidacy.

It was Mr. Trump's successful nominations of three conservative justices to the Supreme Court that paved the way for the decision to overturn Roe v. Wade, eliminating constitutional protections for abortion. Mr. Biden and Democrats seized on that ruling as a key part of their message to turn out their voters.

Mr. Trump's longstanding defense of the National Rifle Association came under increasing scrutiny in the wake of shootings, including of elementary school children in Uvalde, Texas.

And Democrats had always planned to focus on the former president's efforts to overturn the 2020 election, particularly his actions around the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol.

It is unclear to what extent Mr. Trump maintains the ironclad grip on Republican politicians and voters that he wielded so effectively during his four years in the White House.

Most of the election deniers who campaigned by repeating Mr. Trump's 2020 grievances were defeated — albeit narrowly — by Democrats who argued that Americans should reject the former president's agenda.

White House officials remain coy about when Mr. Biden will formally announce a decision about running for a second term. Once the president confirms his candidacy, new rules kick in about how he has to raise and spend campaign money. His advisers want to delay that until they are ready.

But in the meantime, Mr. Biden himself has become increasingly convinced that his mission to remove Mr. Trump from office — and keep him out of the White House — is not yet over.

"Nobody has identified more clearly the unique existential threat that Donald Trump poses to the country than Joe Biden," Kate Bedingfield, the White House communications director, said before Mr. Trump's announcement. "And nobody else has defeated him. So, you know, I think that for us, those are the two North Stars."

After Mr. Trump's speech Tuesday night, a reporter traveling with the president for the Group of 20 summit in Bali, Indonesia, asked Mr. Biden whether he had a reaction to the announcement. Mr. Biden, who was meeting with President Emmanuel Macron of France, looked at his counterpart and the two men smirked.

"Not really," Mr. Biden said.

Trump's Candidacy Is Launched, but His Third Campaign Is a Work in Progress

This article is by ***Maggie Haberman, Shane Goldmacher*** *and* ***Michael C. Bender.***

There is no one working for him with the title of campaign manager. The mechanics of how to access reams of vital data that he amassed about his supporters over eight years were being hammered out until the last minute before his Tuesday night campaign introduction. A key planner of the announcement event has a day job as the C.E.O. of a social-media company.

Though former President Donald J. Trump has talked of a third run for the White House since before he completed his term, the rollout of his actual candidacy — as the Republican Party grapples with the fallout from midterm losses — has been surprisingly slapdash. Despite hosting about 500 people at his Mar-a-Lago home for his kickoff, the campaign did not take the opportunity to also hold a fund-raiser with them.

And, behind the scenes, aides have been wrestling with Mr. Trump's impulse for airing grievances, particularly over the 2020 election, in hopes of keeping him focused on the future.

Advisers say that Mr. Trump is determined to recapture the feel

Determined to recapture the feel of the 2016 campaign.

of his 2016 campaign, when he ran as an insurgent against the political establishment and relied on a small core group of aides. But he does not fit the profile of an outsider: He is a former president and the leader of his party. His 2016 campaign, while ultimately successful, was riven by infighting for months. And while the small group of aides and advisers involved in Mr. Trump's nascent campaign reflects a desire to stay lean, it also reflects how many former aides Mr. Trump has come to disdain — and, in some cases, vice versa.

"It's always a little bit chaotic," said Bryan Lanza, who worked on Mr. Trump's 2016 campaign. Yet, he added, "I tend to believe that's the way the president wants it, so why go against the grain?"

The open and overlapping investigations into Mr. Trump have also chilled the desire of many political operatives to associate too closely with the former president, lest they face possible legal jeopardy themselves, a number of his former aides said — even though Mr. Trump pressed for an early announcement in part out of the belief that it could provide something of a shield against indictment.

Mr. Trump's communications adviser Boris Epshteyn, who has established himself as an in-house counsel on some of the investigations Mr. Trump is facing, is likely to take a role as a senior adviser in the campaign, according to three people briefed on the matter.

At the same time, some former aides who attended the Mar-a-Lago announcement expressed interest in helping the new campaign but said they had not been asked. Major roles that have not been announced as filled include political director, communications director, lead pollster and data chief.

In his two previous campaigns, Mr. Trump went through a string of campaign managers. A decision was made not to have a formal campaign manager this time. Instead, two veteran political strategists will effectively split the duties of one: Susie Wiles, who has functioned as Mr. Trump's top political adviser for two years, and Chris LaCivita, a former political director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee and adviser to numerous candidates, who has resigned as a partner at FP1 Strategies to join the Trump campaign, two people briefed on the matter said.

Another veteran adviser, the pollster Tony Fabrizio, will work for the super PAC supporting Mr. Trump rather than directly advising him or his campaign.

Both Ms. Wiles and Mr. LaCivita are seasoned operatives with an understanding of the political landscape and the mechanics of campaigns. But it remains to be seen how closely their advice will be heeded. Mr. Trump often turns to informal advisers for affirmation of his own ideas and impulses.

"It doesn't matter whether it's a 100-person inner circle or whether it's a five-person inner circle," Mr. Lanza said. "He listens to everybody's opinions, suggestions, recommendations — and then he does whatever the hell he wants. And by the way, he's batting .500. That's not bad. It gets you into the hall of fame."

To be sure, Mr. Trump's campaign start occurred unusually



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SAUL MARTINEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

As former President Donald J. Trump kicked off his third run for the White House, Jared Kushner, left, at the Mar-a-Lago event flanked by Lara and Eric Trump, has indicated that he will not take an active role in the new campaign.

early for a presidential run, driven by both a belief that his being a candidate could shield him from criminal exposure — since he could denounce any prosecution as politically motivated — and the desire to blunt growing momentum behind Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida.

Jason Miller, the chief executive of the conservative-oriented social-media firm Gettr, who helped arrange for Tuesday night's announcement, dismissed questions about the incipient campaign team. "This week is about President Trump's announcement, his message and his vision for our country," Mr. Miller said. "The inside-baseball campaign details, which only the Washington insiders care about, can follow later."

Among those making clear that they will not return for another White House run were Ivanka Trump, Mr. Trump's daughter, and her husband, Jared Kushner. Ms. Trump issued a statement saying she did not plan to be involved in politics: "While I will always love and support my father, going forward I will do so outside the political arena."

Mr. Kushner, who, like his wife, was a senior adviser to Mr. Trump and oversaw the campaign from within the White House, attended the Mar-a-Lago announcement but has indicated he will not take part in the new campaign. As a family member by marriage, Mr. Kushner was one of a few people able to navigate Mr. Trump's explosive management style without constant fear of reprisal, and he sometimes shielded other aides and expedited decision-making because he was seen as having Mr. Trump's full proxy.

The week of Nov. 14 had long been the Trump team's target date for an announcement. But nearly all of his advisers suggested he scrap the plan when Republicans fared far more poorly in the midterm elections than they had expected. Mr. Miller, the Gettr executive, was among those who publicly urged Mr. Trump to delay it until after the Dec. 6 runoff for Senate in Georgia.

Tuesday turned out to be the same night that House Republicans gathered in Washington to select their leadership team, meaning some of Mr. Trump's most vocal allies in elected office could not attend.

Mr. Trump is also believed to have invited each of the 168 members of the Republican National Committee, but few came. Two committee members, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said they received repeated calls from Trump aides pressuring them to attend, but declined, to avoid being seen as having taken sides already as the Republican primary field begins to take shape.

It is unclear whether any of the major donors who backed him previously will return. Already, the hedge fund executives Stephen A. Schwarzman and Ken Griffin have said they will not support Mr. Trump in 2024. And other donors have privately complained that they had yet to receive any outreach from Mr. Trump's team.

Mr. Trump has had an expansive small-dollar fund-raising operation, and that is expected to make up the bulk of his campaign money. But while Mr. Trump had banked $100 million ahead of his announcement across multiple political accounts, none of those funds are permitted to be used to finance his candidacy directly. So his aides raced to come up with workarounds.

The biggest account, Save America PAC, had nearly $70 million, a chunk of which is said to have been transferred to an aligned super PAC, Make America Great Again Inc., that is being overseen by Mr. Trump's former spokesman Taylor Budowich.

But the Save America PAC technically owns Mr. Trump's vaunted database of supporter names, phone numbers and email addresses. To legally access that data, the campaign is raising money through another committee that is expected to share its proceeds with both the campaign and the Save America PAC.

Under federal law, Mr. Trump cannot use his new presidential campaign committee for his personal benefit. But restrictions are less clear for the Save America PAC, which paid more than $10 million in legal fees in 2021 and 2022, including some to Mr. Trump's defense team related to the F.B.I.'s search of his Mar-a-Lago estate.

The choice of venues for Mr. Trump's kickoff, meanwhile, ensured that his private company would profit from the event — a form of self-dealing he has engaged in for more than seven years.

"I don't like to think of myself as a politician, but I guess that's what I am," Mr. Trump said on Tuesday evening. "I hate that thought."

Republican Leadership Scuffle Reveals a Rift Over Strategy

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Mitch McConnell of Kentucky on Wednesday overwhelmingly won re-election as his party's Senate leader, holding off Senator Rick Scott of Florida in the first challenge Mr. McConnell has faced since assuming the post in 2007.

Despite a disappointing election performance that left them demoralized and still mired in the minority, Senate Republicans stuck with their longtime leader, opting for an experienced hand rather than a change at the top that could add to the postelection turmoil engulfing their party.

"I think the most important thing we can do is get these differences behind us," said Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas and a leading McConnell ally.

The leadership bid by Mr. Scott was always a long shot, particularly since he had served as the chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the party campaign arm that was tasked with winning back the Senate majority — and came up short. Many of his colleagues saw him as more responsible for the election defeat than Mr. McConnell.

But critics of Mr. McConnell, who was re-elected leader on a vote of 37 to 10, with one abstention, said they saw it as a worthwhile demonstration of unrest in the ranks.

"We had a double-digit vote against the current leader, and that's never happened in the time I've been here," said Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, who opposed Mr. McConnell and attempted to delay the leadership selection until after a Dec. 6 Georgia runoff election, a bid that was soundly rejected by his colleagues.

Mr. McConnell said he was not offended by the challenge and some of his supporters relished the showdown as a chance for the Kentucky Republican to give a concrete demonstration of his strong standing within his conference.

"We had a good opportunity to discuss the differences, people had an opportunity to listen to both candidates, and I'm pretty proud of 37 to 10," Mr. McConnell said after the vote.

It came at the end of a meeting behind closed doors that stretched for more than three hours, as Republican senators sat at desks in the Old Senate Chamber, a semicircular room adorned with marble columns and an ornate central table hung with crimson fabric, to hash out their differences. The room is a traditional spot for leadership elections.

Republicans in both the House and Senate are reeling from their poor performance in midterm elections in which they expected to post significant gains based on a sour public mood, inflation and historical trends. But Senate Democrats held their majority and could still expand it, while Republicans managed to squeak into the majority in the House. Party leaders in both chambers are facing an internal backlash, exposing divides that could persist as they confront Democrats over the next two years.

Mr. Scott and his allies said that Mr. McConnell represented the status quo and that a new approach was necessary if Republicans were to regroup and triumph in 2024. They criticized Mr. McConnell for cooperating too much with Democrats, allowing them to notch legislative victories this year that boosted their campaigns.

"Clearly, the Republican Party's got to do something different if we ever want to be a majority party," said Senator Josh Hawley, Republican of Missouri. "I put it to them, you know, what would they see to do differently, and what do they think the approach ought to be."

But most Senate Republicans regarded Mr. McConnell as a much better bet for a rebound than Mr. Scott.

"I have a lot of admiration for his vision and look forward to carrying forward with that," said Senator Shelley Moore Capito of West Virginia, who on Wednesday was elected as the fifth-ranking Republican, becoming one of two women in the party leadership, alongside Senator Joni Ernst of Iowa, who won the fourth-ranking spot.

Even some backers of Mr. McConnell said that there was a sense among the rank-and-file that the Republican leader, known for playing his cards extremely closely, had not involved them sufficiently and that too many big legislative deals were being cut at the top without consulting them or the relevant committees.

The leadership challenge was conducted by secret ballot, but those who indicated they voted against Mr. McConnell included Mr. Scott, Mr. Cruz, Mr. Hawley, Senator Mike Braun of Indiana and Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina.

"I think Rick Scott accomplished his point," said Senator Kevin Cramer, Republican of North Dakota. "And that is that several members are frustrated and have been for some time that they want to see a more inclusive process. They don't want to see so many back-room deals."

Mr. McConnell acknowledged the sentiment and said senators were reminded in their private meeting that any five Republican senators could call a party meeting to hash out an issue.

"We acquainted our members with the tools they have if they have an idea they want to promote," Mr. McConnell said. "I think that will be used more often. I certainly welcome it."

Mr. Scott, for his part, hinted that he would not hesitate to continue voicing dissent even in the wake of his loss.

"I'm going to continue to fight for what I believe," Mr. Scott said.

Even though Republicans fell short of expectations on Nov. 8, Mr. McConnell and his leadership team emphasized that the Senate — and the nation as a whole — remains narrowly divided and that the G.O.P. could still have significant influence with a Republican House.

"It is still a 50-50 country," said Mr. McConnell. "They've given us a 50-50 government again. I think what the public is going to be looking at is whether or not this narrowly divided Congress can accomplish anything that does them any good in terms of their lives."

The rest of the Republican leadership was set with little fanfare or competition: Senator John Thune of South Dakota will remain in the No. 2 position, the minority whip, and Senator John Barrasso of Wyoming will remain as the conference chair, the No. 3 position. Ms. Ernst and Ms. Capito will occupy the next two slots, and Senator Steve Daines, Republican of Montana, will succeed Mr. Scott at the Senate campaign committee.

When the next Congress convenes in January, Mr. McConnell will set the record for serving the longest in a Senate leadership role, surpassing Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, who spent 16 years as majority leader. The impending record has prompted speculation that Mr. McConnell could step aside after he hits that milestone. But he dismissed that idea on Wednesday.

"I'm not going anywhere," he told reporters.

Emily Cochrane and Catie Edmondson contributed reporting.

A Senate leader withstands his first challenge since 2007.



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"We had a good opportunity to discuss the differences," Mitch McConnell said after his re-election as the Senate G.O.P. leader.

Ticketmaster Is Criticized After Chaos Over Presale

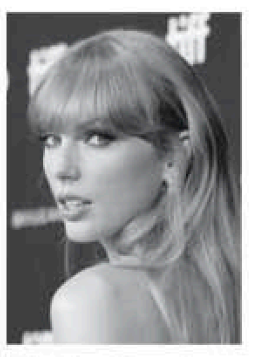
By GRAHAM BOWLEY

A roster of Democratic lawmakers on Tuesday criticized Ticketmaster, suggesting the company's struggles to meet surging demand for Taylor Swift concert tickets online were symptomatic of a company that was too large and powerful to fuss over the consumers who rely on it.

Several lawmakers aired longstanding criticisms about the size and power of the company created in 2010 by the merger of the two most dominant companies in the live music business: Live Nation, which represents artists, owns venues and promotes shows, and Ticketmaster, which has the lion's share of the ticketing market.

"Daily reminder that Ticketmaster is a monopoly," Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Democrat from New York, posted in a tweet on Tuesday, writing that the company's merger with Live Nation "should never have been approved." She concluded: "Break them up."

The spark for the congressional criticism was the problems that developed as fans tried to buy tickets for Swift's Eras Tour, a 52-show road trip that begins in March, which is the star's first since 2018 and her largest to date. Tickets went on presale Tuesday for those part of the Verified Fan program, which started in 2017 and is meant to keep tickets in the hands of fans rather than resellers. (Prospective buyers must register in advance for an opportunity to purchase tickets.) Swift's latest release, "Midnights," opened on the Billboard chart last month with the biggest debut week for any album in seven years.



Taylor Swift

Ticketmaster acknowledged experiencing issues with its website and some fans reported waiting hours in online queues only to come away empty-handed. "We are aware fans may be experiencing intermittent issues with the site and are urgently working to resolve," Ticketmaster said in a statement Tuesday.

Representative Bill Pascrell Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, wrote in a tweet Tuesday that the "portal is not going well for many Swifties. I'm hearing about site crashes and fans waiting for hours. You'd think all these service and convenience fees could go to a working website."

Representative David N. Cicilline, of Rhode Island, said Ticketmaster's "excessive wait times and fees are completely unacceptable," as shown by the experience with the Swift tickets, and were "a symptom of a larger problem. It's no secret that Live Nation-Ticketmaster is an unchecked monopoly."

Rep. Cicilline added: "The merger of these companies should never have been allowed in the first place." He said he had joined other lawmakers including Representative Jerry Nadler of New York "to call on the DOJ to investigate Live Nation's efforts to jack up prices and strangle competition." Rep. Cicilline posted a letter he and four other lawmakers sent last year to the Department of Justice and Federal Trade Commission requesting an investigation into the company's practices. The letter cited data that Live Nation controls more than 80 percent of the venue ticket sales market.

Live Nation representatives could not be immediately reached for additional comment on the reaction by Democratic members of the House.

When Live Nation and Ticketmaster merged, critics warned that the resulting company would become an industry colossus, one that had too much power and was capable of crippling competitors in the ticketing business.

In approving the merger, the Justice Department signed a 10-year consent decree with Live Nation that forbade it from actions like using its power over talent to force venues to use its Ticketmaster service. But a Justice Department investigation found that Live Nation had violated that agreement, and in 2019 the company amended and extended the decree.

The extension made clearer the restriction that Live Nation should never threaten venues in any way, and may not retaliate against venues that decide to use a rival ticketing system.

Ticketmaster, in its statement on Tuesday, thanked fans for their patience. It said hundreds of thousands of tickets had been sold. "If you are in a queue, please hang tight — queues are moving and we are working to get fans through as quickly as possible," it said.

As of Wednesday morning, the Ticketmaster website was still carrying a warning of limited availability for Swift tickets.

New York City Projecting $2.9 Billion Deficit in '23

City officials say no layoffs are needed despite a dire forecast.

By DANA RUBINSTEIN

Facing growing pension costs and stiff inflation, New York City officials on Tuesday projected that the city's budget deficit would shrink to $2.9 billion next year after recent belt-tightening efforts, before ballooning again in subsequent years.

The grim forecast was not unexpected: For months, Mayor Eric Adams's administration has been tracking various economic indicators that suggest the city's economic underpinnings are shaky.

Officials have predicted a dropoff in business and personal-income tax revenue. They have warned that reaching new labor settlements with the city's unionized work force could add yet substantial new stress to the budget, even as an underperforming stock market requires the city to contribute more to its pension funds.

With that in mind, the mayor in September demanded that his agencies cut city-funded expenses by 3 percent this year, and 4.75 percent the next. The effort reduced the current fiscal year's budget gap by nearly $1 billion and will cut future deficits even further.

But the gaps remain large: City officials disclosed on Tuesday that they were now projecting a combined budget gap of $13.4 billion for the next three fiscal years, compared with the $12 billion the city projected in June.

City Hall attributed those increased out-year gaps in part to the stock market's weak performance.

"The city faces significant economic headwinds that pose real threats to our fiscal stability, including growing pension contributions, expiring labor contracts and rising health care expenses — and we are taking decisive actions in the administration's first November Financial Plan to meet those challenges," Mr. Adams said in a statement.

The city's worsening economic conditions come at an inopportune time for the mayor, who is finishing up his first year in office at the helm of a city struggling to emerge from the pandemic, and afflicted by a brain drain so severe that the state comptroller on Monday warned it could affect "critical and essential services for our children and most vulnerable residents."

City officials said that no layoffs were necessary, adding that the administration's ongoing efficiency efforts would cut $1.6 billion from next year's budget, and $1.5 billion the year after that. But those savings will be outpaced by the growth in pension costs starting in 2025.

"Short-term savings should never give people solace when you see the long-term situation getting worse," said Andrew Rein, president of the Citizens Budget Commission.

Though the original savings mandate warned that noncompliant agencies could be subject to hiring freezes, not every agency complied, and none were penalized.

The New York Police Department only achieved 41 percent of its two-year savings targets, city officials said Tuesday. The Department of Sanitation achieved only 39 percent. And the Fire Department achieved 98 percent.

Mr. Rein said the city achieved its sought-after savings largely through re-estimates of projected spending, rather than making more lasting structural changes.

The Adams administration, for example, has signaled ambivalence about its commitment to expand the city's prekindergarten program for 3-year-olds. That is reflected in the budget modifications, which show a nearly $600 million savings next fiscal year achieved through "right sizing."

City officials said they originally projected they would need 61,000 seats in future years for the prekindergarten program, something they now consider unrealistically high. Though there are wait lists in some neighborhoods, the program is currently serving only 36,000 children, and in coming years, the city estimates it will need only 55,000 seats.

Nevertheless, the right-sizing plan earned a rebuke from the New York City Council.

"Early childhood education programs, such as universal 3-K, are pivotal to the economic success of our city and must be a priority in which to invest," Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, and Justin Brannan, the finance chair, said in a joint statement on Tuesday.

Similarly, the city is cutting costs by trimming about $12 million from the Behavioral Health Emergency Assistance Response Division, or B-Heard, which dispatches specialists to 911 mental health calls.

City officials said the program was not spending its existing budget and that it was able to cover the same service area with fewer teams.

But Jordyn Rosenthal, the advocacy coordinator for Community Access, a supportive housing nonprofit, said the city risked undermining the program.

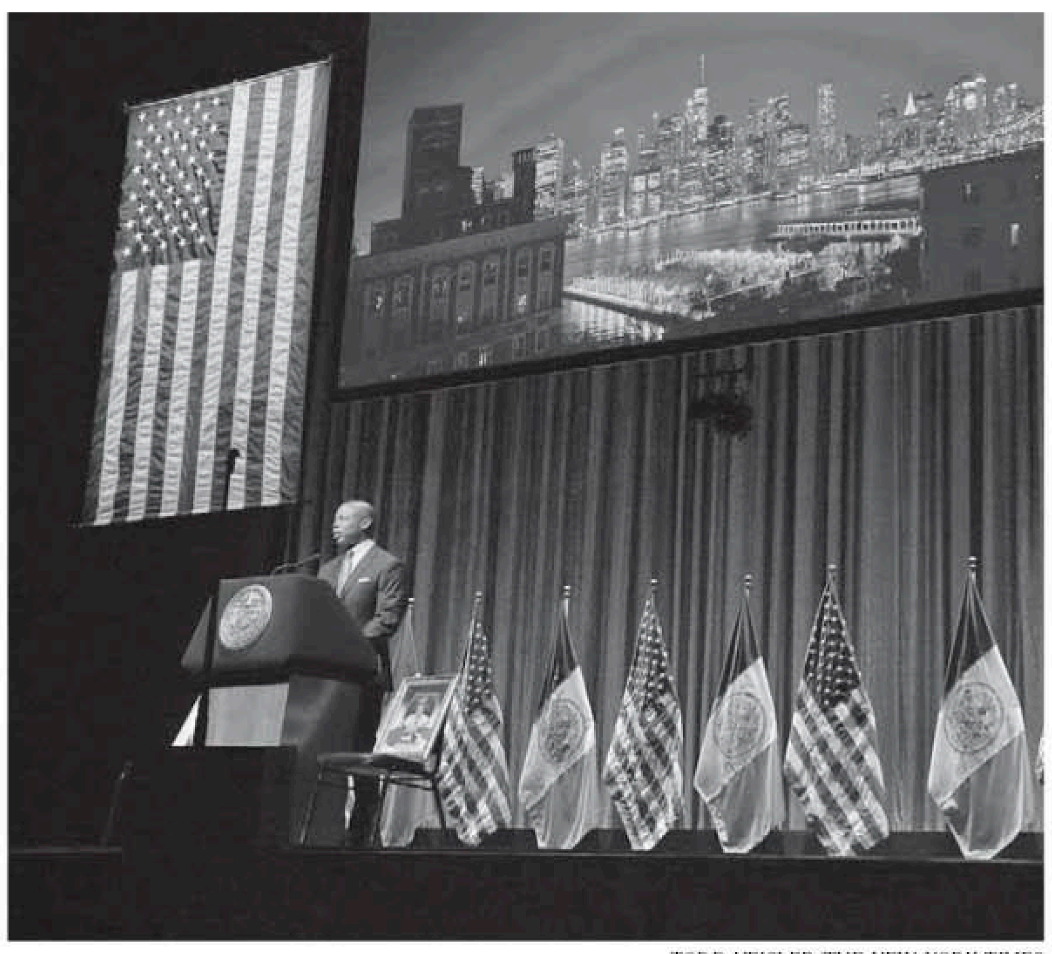
"All of the trends are going in the wrong direction," she said. "When the program first started, response times were under 14 minutes and now they're over 18 minutes. And potentially, why that is happening is that there are longer wait times because there aren't enough teams to respond."

Mr. Brannan and Ms. Adams quibbled with some of the city's findings. They noted that the city is not accounting for tax collections from the last fiscal year that came in roughly $1 billion higher than expected — calculations that the city considers premature, even as it did include $1 billion in federal funding for migrants that it has yet to formally apply for.

"Yes, the inflationary headwinds that we're facing are real and they're going to squeeze our budget and for the first time in a generation, we're going to have to adapt a budget to a significant level of inflation," Mr. Brannan said in an interview. "But right now, the money is still coming in."

Once the city releases the formal budget modification documents, the City Council is expected to hold a hearing and a vote on the matter.

"We have to pass it," Mr. Brannan said. "They can't do it without us."



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mayor Eric Adams, presenting his executive budget in April, has directed city agencies to cut spending both this year and next.

Corrections

INTERNATIONAL

An article on Tuesday about Iran's ballistic missile and drone attacks launched on opposition bases in Iraq's Kurdistan Region referred incorrectly to a school in the region. The school was only renovated by the U.N. refugee agency; it was not an agency school.

SPORTS

An article on Wednesday about the University of Virginia football coach Tony Elliott remembering the three players who were killed in a shooting on Sunday misstated the given name of the athletic director at the University of Virginia. She is Carla Williams, not Cara Williams.

ARTS

An article on Saturday about a new play, "Elián," which explores the pain and rage that descended on Miami during the monthslong custody battle of 6-year-old Elián González misstated the number of survivors after a boat capsized while fleeing Cuba in 1999. Elián González was one of three survivors, not the lone survivor.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

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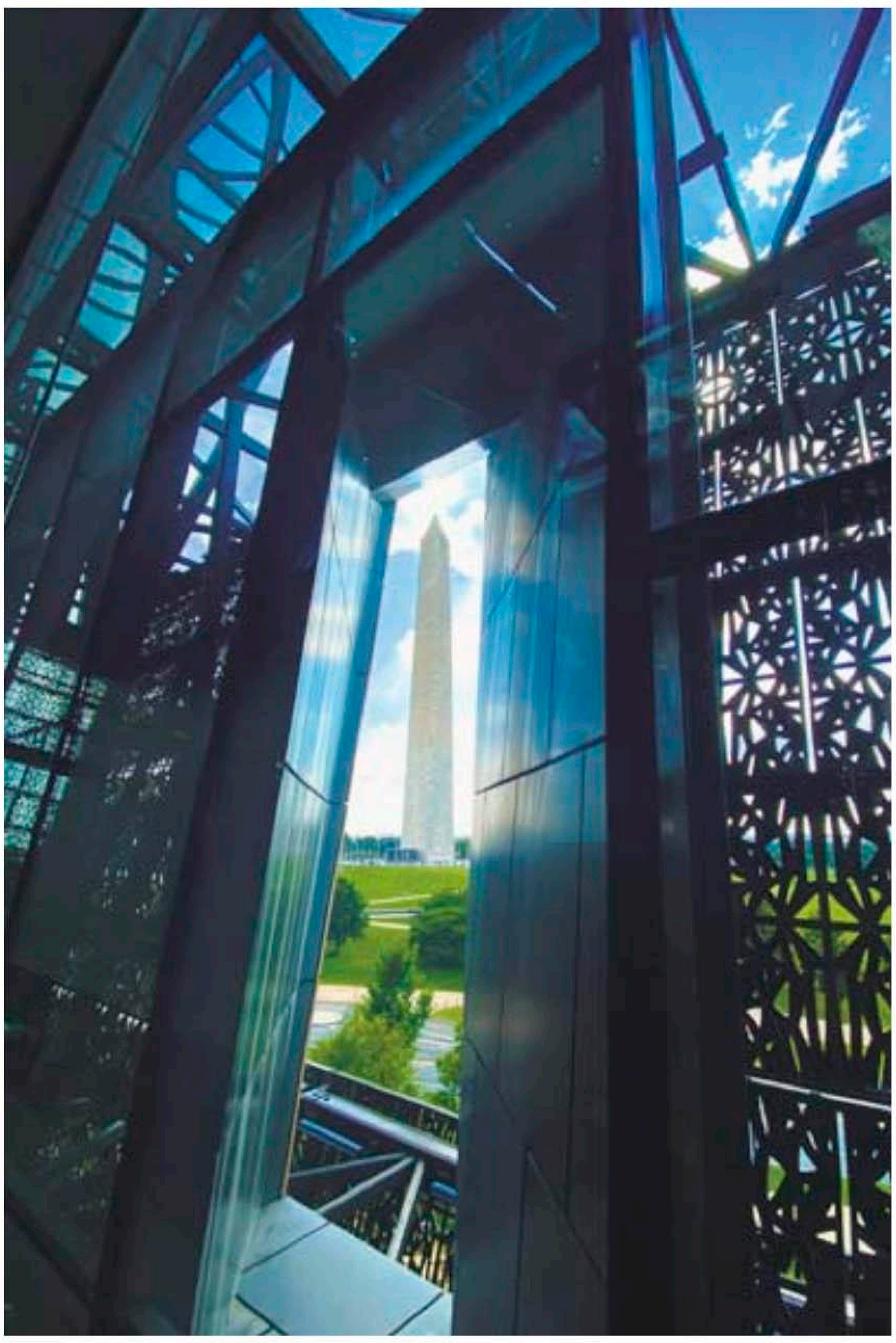
Applications for Summer Academy 2023 open in early December.

Summer Academy gives high school students the opportunity to widen their horizons and explore their passions alongside Times journalists and other industry experts. James Estrin, New York Times staff photographer, selected Giulio di Robilant and Addie Streidl as the grand prize winners of our 2022 Summer Academy Photojournalism Challenge.

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Congratulations, Giulio di Robilant
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Congratulations, Addie Streidl
U.S. Government/Law/Ethics
D.C. Campus

The New York Times

Man Accused Of Killing Young Son At a Shelter

By CHELSIA ROSE MARCIUS and ANDY NEWMAN

Shaquan Butler spent most of his brief life away from his parents, removed from his family by New York City's child welfare agency after it filed neglect charges against his mother when he was 4 days old.

But in early October, Shaquan, at age 3, was sent back to live with his parents at a homeless shelter in Queens, along with two siblings, court records show.

On Sunday, Shaquan was found bruised and fatally beaten at the shelter, according to the police and the city's medical examiner. His father, also named Shaquan Butler, 26, was arrested on Tuesday and charged with his murder.

The child was unconscious when officers responded to a 911 call at about 7:40 p.m. on Sunday at the shelter, Boulevard Family Residence, on Queens Boulevard. Shaquan was rushed to NYC Health & Hospital/Elmhurst, where he was pronounced dead, the Police Department's press office said. He died from blunt force injuries to his torso, according to a spokeswoman for the medical examiner.

Mr. Butler has been arrested 24 times as an adult, according to a Police Department spokeswoman, facing charges including theft and weapons possession. He was

A suspect who has been arrested 24 times as an adult.

also arrested several times as a minor, but those cases are sealed because he was under 18 years old.

Shaquan's family had an extensive history with the city's Administration for Children's Services, according to agency and court records.

The welfare agency filed neglect cases involving three siblings when each was a few days old — a sister who is now 5, a brother who is 2 and an 11-month-old sister.

But in early September, over the objections of the children's court-appointed lawyer, a family court judge ordered that Shaquan and his brother could go home for overnight weekend visits at the shelter, the records show. An agency lawyer told the judge that the transition to overnight visits was expected to be difficult, but did not try to stop them.

On Oct. 6, the judge returned Shaquan and his brother to his mother on a trial basis, with the consent of the agency's and the children's lawyers. The judge also ordered that Shaquan's baby sister be temporarily returned, under supervision of the agency.

The child welfare agency objected to that, but the judge, Alison Hamanjian, overruled. Judge Hamanjian did not immediately respond to a message left at the phone number listed for her in the court system.

The children's mother, Erica Ubiera, has not been charged. She could not be reached for comment.

An agency spokeswoman declined to comment on the case; officials at Samaritan Daytop Village, the nonprofit that runs the shelter, did not respond to a request for comment.

On Wednesday, residents at the Queens shelter said news of Shaquan's death had rattled their small community.

Santo Rodriguez, 48, who has lived at Boulevard Family Residence for about a year, said he had spent time with Mr. Butler and often saw him outside with his two children. At no time did he show any hostility toward the youngsters, Mr. Rodriguez said.

"It was just kids, Dad playing," he said.

At least seven other children have been killed in New York City this year in cases where family or household members were charged. That tally includes the three children of a woman who is accused of drowning them in the ocean at Coney Island in September.

In June, another woman was arrested and charged in the murder of her 7-year-old daughter, Julisia Batties, who had been killed in August 2021. Julissia's half brother, Paul Fine Jr., was also arrested on murder and sexual abuse charges.

From 2016 to 2021, the average number of domestic child homicides by mid-November was about 13, according to a New York Times analysis of police data.

Samira Asma-Sadeque contributed reporting and Alain Delaquérière contributed research.

Virginia Shooting Raises Questions of Missed Warning Signs

This article is by Campbell Robertson, Stephanie Saul and Sheryl Gay Stolberg.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — A lawyer for the family of one of the three students killed in this week's shooting at the University of Virginia questioned on Wednesday whether the university investigated aggressively enough after learning two months ago that the suspect, a fellow student who lived on campus, may have been in possession of a gun.

The lawyer, Michael Haggard, who is representing the family of D'Sean Perry, said, "If there was notice of the student being a threat to the community at the college and it wasn't acted upon, what were the details of those threats, why wasn't it acted upon and what were the standards?"

Such questions were also being raised by community members trying to make sense of the attack, in which three students were killed and two wounded after returning from a class field trip. Even some experts who had praised Virginia's state government for its pioneering role in establishing protocols for recognizing and responding to potential on-campus threats — a role the state took on after the shooting massacre at Virginia Tech in 2007 — were asking if officials at the University of Virginia could have acted with more urgency in assessing whether the student accused of committing Sunday's attack, Christopher Darnell Jones Jr., posed a risk.

Brian Coy, a spokesman for the university, declined to comment beyond statements that officials had already put out.

University officials had been investigating whether Mr. Jones, a senior, had a gun in the months leading up to the attack, based on a tip they had received in September. But the tipster had not actually seen Mr. Jones with a gun, officials said this week, and the university's threat assessment team learned that Mr. Jones's roommate had not seen a gun, either. The investigation did uncover that Mr. Jones had a concealed-weapon conviction in 2021 in another Virginia county.

But the owner of a sporting goods store near Mr. Jones's hometown, Petersburg, Va., said that Mr. Jones had in fact made multiple attempts to buy guns in recent years, including after being twice rebuffed — for being underage, then for failing a background check because of a pending felony charge. When that charge was reduced to a misdemeanor, Mr. Jones was legally clear to buy firearms, and this year bought a rifle and a 9 mm pistol, according to the store owner, Marlon Dance.

On Wednesday morning, Mr. Jones, who turns 23 on Thursday, appeared by video in a brief court hearing, where he was ordered held without bail. From a screen in a corner of a courtroom in the Albemarle General District Court, Mr. Jones said that he planned to hire a lawyer, and stayed quiet as a prosecutor read out a police account of Sunday night's attack. In the account, the prosecutor said that a witness told the police that



PHOTOGRAPHS BY EZE AMOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



The University of Virginia canceled this weekend's football game after three of the team's players were killed. The mood in Charlottesville and on campus has been somber this week.

Mr. Jones had been "aiming at certain people and was not randomly shooting."

In addition to Mr. Perry, Devin Chandler and Lavel Davis Jr. were killed in Sunday night's shooting on a bus that had just returned from a class field trip to see a play in Washington; all three were juniors on the university's football team. A fourth football player, Michael Hollins, was shot in the back and is currently in the hospital; according to his father, he is expected to make a full recovery. Another student, Marlee Morgan, was also injured in the attack.

Mr. Jones, who was also on the trip, has been charged with three counts of second-degree murder, two counts of malicious wounding and five counts of using a handgun in the commission of a felony. He agreed to be represented by a public defender while he sought his own lawyer, and the judge set a new hearing for Dec. 8.

Out of its own past tragedies, Virginia became a national leader in formalizing systems to detect and respond to threats on college campuses. After the mass shooting at Virginia Tech, when a student killed 32 people before taking his own life, Virginia became the first state to mandate threat assessment teams in any educational settings, said Gene Deisinger, the threat management consultant for the Virginia Center for School and Campus Safety, part of the state criminal justice agency.

Even today, Mr. Deisinger said, while many states require threat assessment teams in K-12 settings, Virginia is one of only a few states that legally require such teams in institutions of higher education as well.

The teams may follow different protocols on different campuses, but the core model is a multidisciplinary task force with representatives from a variety of departments.

In Mr. Jones's case, there appeared to be a number of potential concerns, some of which university officials learned about in the past two months, and some of which were apparently unknown until after the shooting.

In recent years, Mr. Jones had drawn several criminal charges, including an arrest in February 2021 for carrying a concealed weapon without a permit. In that case, according to the Chesterfield County Police Department, officers pulled him over because they did not find his vehicle's registration on file. During that stop, they found that he was carrying a concealed handgun without a permit, a misdemeanor.

The next month, he was charged with a felony for failing to remain at the scene of a car accident. While that charge was pending, Mr. Jones had tried to buy a firearm at Mr. Dance's store, Dance's Sporting Goods. It was Mr. Jones's second attempt to buy a gun at the store — he was turned down the first time, in 2018, because he was underage — and he was again unsuccessful, as the background check turned up his pending felony charge.

Last October, as part of a plea deal, the felony was reduced to a misdemeanor, and Mr. Jones was legally allowed to buy firearms again. He bought two at the store this year: a 5.56 caliber rifle in February, and a 9 mm pistol in July.

In September, during an investigation by the university's Department of Student Affairs into a hazing incident on campus, a student told officials that he had heard Mr. Jones make a comment about having a gun, which would be prohibited on campus.

While investigating the tip about the gun, which was never substantiated, officials discovered Mr. Jones's 2021 conviction on the concealed weapon charge; he had not reported it to the university, a violation of campus policy. Mr. Coy, the spokesman, said that on Oct. 26, after Mr. Jones "repeatedly refused to cooperate" with officials looking into these matters, a representative for student affairs sent Mr. Jones an email warning him that his failure to report the conviction would be referred to the judicial council, the student-run body that handles discipline on campus.

However, for reasons that remain unclear, that referral was never made.

Dr. Jeffrey W. Swanson, a medical sociologist at Duke University who researches gun violence prevention, said it can be challenging for schools to determine who is a serious threat.

"It is difficult for universities, once something has been identified as a threat, to decide how serious it is and whether it reaches a threshold of intervention," he said, "particularly one that will have serious consequences," like a criminal referral or dismissal from school.

But to some experts on managing campus risk, there were several signs that the process appeared to have broken down.

"This is the perspective that seems to be a little typical for universities: 'Our students are adults and we can't compel them to do anything' — and I just disagree with that," said Lori Haas, a longtime gun safety advocate in Virginia who worked to pass the state's threat assessment legislation after her daughter was injured in the Virginia Tech attack. "Why the hell do you have a student conduct code if you're not going to enforce it?"

'We Do Not Have a Suspect,' Authorities Say After Idaho Killings

This article is by Mike Baker, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs and Jake Ellison.

MOSCOW, Idaho — Three days after a gruesome mass killing left four students dead near the University of Idaho, the authorities said Wednesday that they still had no suspect and could not assure that there was no lingering threat to the community.

Investigators have not recovered a murder weapon but believe the four students — all friends who had seemed to be spending a typical Saturday night in the college town of Moscow — were stabbed to death. The authorities asked people to remain vigilant, watch out for each other and come forward with any information that could help bring a perpetrator to justice.

"These murders have shaken us to our very core," Col. Kedrick Wills, the director of the Idaho State Police, said at a news conference.

Chief James Fry of the Moscow Police Department said there was no sign of forced entry into the home, a large rental just outside of campus, and that the door was found open after police officers were called to the scene at midday on Sunday, apparently many hours after the killings had occurred.

Chief Fry said two other people were in the home at the time of the attack who were not injured, although he declined to say whether they witnessed the killings or to disclose what they shared with investigators. He said it had not been a hostage situation, but said the authorities had not been able to identify who might have carried out the crime.

"We do not have a suspect at





Above from left: Ethan Chapin, Xana Kernodle, Kaylee Goncalves and Madison Mogen were found stabbed to death at a large off-campus rental near the University of Idaho campus around midday on Sunday, several hours after the killings had occurred.

this time," the chief said. Whoever committed the crime, he warned, "is still out there."

Cathy Mabbutt, the Latah County coroner, said in a text message on Wednesday afternoon that she was still conducting the autopsies and would be doing so until later in the evening. But as of yet, she said, she had found nothing surprising nor anything to contradict the earlier belief that the victims had been stabbed to death.

The authorities have said the totality of the evidence they have indicates the attack was targeted, identifying the victims as Ethan Chapin, 20; Madison Mogen, 21; Xana Kernodle, 20; and Kaylee Goncalves, 21.

The four friends appeared to have been having a typical weekend night in the community, with Mr. Chapin and Ms. Kernodle at a party while Ms. Goncalves and Ms. Mogen had gone to a downtown bar before they gathered at the house.

In a recorded video livestream from a food truck downtown, Ms. Goncalves and Ms. Mogen could be seen around 1:45 a.m., with one of them ordering food. They mingled on the sidewalk until the food was ready, then departed.

At first, the police sought to downplay any wider danger.

Mr. Fry said investigators had seen the video, saying it had been helpful to place the students at that time of night as authorities work to build a timeline of events.

The community fear in the aftermath of the killings has led many students to leave town. Officials had been trying to calm nerves by saying that they did not believe the broader community was at risk. But on Wednesday, Chief Fry's message changed.

"We cannot say that there is no threat to the community," he said.

In one possible clue to the investigation, Scott Jutte, general manager of Moscow Building Supply, confirmed a report in The Idaho Statesman that police officers had visited the store more than once in recent days to ask whether it sold Ka-Bar tactical knives. The store does not sell that style of knife.

Alivea Goncalves, Kaylee's older sister, said the family has no idea who could have committed such a crime.

"That's why we believe the most important thing right now is tips," she said. "If you saw them at all, even if it was a totally normal interaction, call it in. If you saw anything the next day or in a trash can or even a weird feeling, call it in."

At a candlelight vigil on Wednesday evening in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho — an area where three of the victims were from — hundreds of people gathered at a park on the edge of Lake Coeur d'Alene to share memories of the victims.

"We just want people to know who they were, that they were just a huge part of this community," said Daisy Couch, 22, who went to high school with Ms. Mogen.

Angela Navejas, whose daughter was also friends with Ms. Mogen, called the victims "some of the brightest stars I've ever known in my life."

"They were wild and carefree and loving," she said.

At Wednesday's news conference in Moscow, Scott Green, the president of the University of Idaho, teared up as he spoke about the case. He said the crime was beyond comprehension, and the entire campus has been grieving for the students.

"Their loss has been devastating," he said.

Serge F. Kovaleski contributed reporting. Susan C. Beachy and Sheelagh McNeill contributed research.

Bass Elected First Female Mayor of Los Angeles

By SHAWN HUBLER

Karen Bass, a veteran Democratic congresswoman, on Wednesday became the first woman elected as mayor of Los Angeles after pledging to build coalitions in a metropolis torn by racial tensions and fed up with homelessness. The race was called by The Associated Press.

Ms. Bass survived a bruising race against Rick Caruso, a billionaire real estate developer, that had remained too close to call for more than a week after the election. Mr. Caruso had pumped roughly $100 million into his campaign as a law-and-order candidate, hoping to appeal to a frustrated electorate.

On Wednesday, Los Angeles County election results showed her with more than 53 percent of the vote, with returns trending heavily for her.

“The people of Los Angeles have sent a clear message,” Ms. Bass said in a statement on Wednesday. “It is time for change and it is time for urgency.”



JENNA SCHOENEFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mayor-elect Karen Bass has promised to put more police officers on the streets of Los Angeles.

Ms. Bass’s election comes at a tumultuous moment in Los Angeles, a city of 4 million people that emerged from the pandemic to a landscape of tent camps, debris, economic anxiety and spiking violence. Although matters have gradually begun to improve and crime rates remain far below the city’s peaks of the 1990s, Los Angeles residents have expressed fury and exhaustion, particularly at the city’s epidemic of homelessness, according to surveys, focus groups and pre-election interviews.

In an interview last year at her hillside home — a ranch house in the Baldwin Vista neighborhood that was burglarized in September by thieves who stole two handguns — Ms. Bass, 69, said that the main reason she ran for mayor was the familiarity of the current civic unease. She said the city’s mood reminded her of the fear-stoked distrust and divisiveness that preceded the 1992 riots.

“That’s what is frightening to me now — the anger,” she said. “And my concern is the direction the anger can move the city in.”

Ms. Bass has said that as mayor she will declare a state of emergency on homelessness and find housing for 17,000 homeless people in her first year. She also has promised to put more police officers on the street, in part by freeing up sworn members to patrol the city rather than handle administrative tasks.

She will bring to the job a long history of coalition-building, dating to the 1980s, when as a physician assistant and emergency room worker she applied for a federal grant to launch a nonprofit to address the crack epidemic that was ravaging the city. The Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment — now known simply as the Community Coalition, or CoCo — has since become one of the city’s largest and most influential advocacy groups, working across the city’s vast array of ethnicities.

Ms. Bass said on election night that her very family is a kind of coalition. Married for six years in the 1980s, Ms. Bass and her ex-husband, a Latino, went on after their divorce to jointly raise their daughter with his four children. Ms. Bass’s stepchildren spoke lovingly of her at her campaign kickoff rally.

Her biological daughter and son-in-law died in 2006 in an automobile accident, two years after Ms. Bass first was elected to public office. The tragedy, she has said, made her part of a “club that you didn’t ask to be a part of,” and left her with “a choice as to whether to go back to work or hide.”

In a Democratic stronghold so liberal that Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont received the most Los Angeles votes in the 2020 presidential primary, Ms. Bass will bring a liberal perspective to the nonpartisan office.

As a child during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, she said, she grew up watching demonstrations on the news with her father, a mail carrier, and volunteered to walk precincts for Robert F. Kennedy, who was assassinated not far from where she grew up. In the 1970s, she joined a group of young leftists working on construction projects in Fidel Castro’s Cuba, the Venceremos Brigade.

By California standards, however, she is viewed as more center-left than progressive. As assembly speaker during the 2008 financial crisis, she worked with the governor at the time, Arnold Schwarzenegger, to negotiate billions of dollars in deep cuts to balance the state budget. In Congress, where she has served since 2011 and was chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus, she has represented a district that spans affluent West Los Angeles and some of the city’s poorest quarters. She was shortlisted as a running mate by Joseph R. Biden Jr. during his presidential campaign.

She will be the city’s second Black mayor, taking office nearly three decades after Tom Bradley retired as the longest-tenured executive in Los Angeles history. And, as the first woman to be elected to the post, she will join an increasingly female pantheon of local leaders, including the city’s first female city attorney and the county’s powerful, five-member Board of Supervisors, which is dominated by women.

Ms. Bass said in the interview last year that she welcomed the opportunity to work with so many women in powerful positions.

She said she’ll find housing for 17,000 homeless people.

“These are general statements, OK? But women are more collaborative. Women are not as transactional. And I think women focus on different issues,” she said. “I think women tend to lead differently.”

For much of the mayoral campaign, Ms. Bass was the front-runner, with polls showing her to be the best known candidate by far in a crowded primary field. But that changed with the late entrance of Mr. Caruso, 63, a deep-pocketed Brentwood businessman who had developed some of Southern California’s best-known shopping destinations and served on powerful boards overseeing the Los Angeles Police Department and the University of Southern California.

The race was the first mayoral contest since the city’s decision to hold local elections at the same time as the statewide general election, and the first to follow a state law that provides every registered active voter with a mail-in ballot. The two changes dramatically broadened interest in the municipal election, and Mr. Caruso’s spending set records in the city, not only for campaign ads but also for phone banks, precinct walkers and other voter-turnout efforts.

In the final weeks, polls showed the officially nonpartisan race narrowing substantially. Ms. Bass, however, garnered numerous high-profile Democratic political endorsements, including one from former President Barack Obama.

In a statement on Wednesday, Mr. Caruso wished Ms. Bass “Godspeed” and congratulations. “There will be more to come from the movement we built,” he said, “but for now as a city we need to unite around Mayor-elect Bass and give her the support she needs to tackle the many issues we face.”

Ms. Bass has said she will look to mend relationships when she enters office in December. The City Council is reeling from a series of scandals, including the leak of an audio recording in which a group of Latino members were caught making disparaging and racist remarks, several of which were directed at African Americans.

Also on the horizon are preparations for the 2028 Olympics, which Los Angeles is hosting, and the possibility of a painful economic downturn in a city with limited options for raising revenue.

She will have a powerful bully pulpit in her new post, but also significant constraints; Los Angeles government was designed to resist the concentration of authority. County officials oversee many of the social service programs necessary to address homelessness, for example, and any regional initiatives will require the broader buy-in of scores of surrounding cities and other levels of government.

Both Harvard and Yale Remove Schools of Law From Ranking System

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

In perhaps the biggest challenge yet to the school rankings industry, both Yale and Harvard announced Wednesday that they were withdrawing from the influential U.S. News & World Report rankings of the nation’s best law schools.

Colleges and universities have been critical of the U.S. News ranking system for decades, saying that it was unreliable and skewed educational priorities, but they had rarely taken action to thwart it, and every year almost always submitted their data for judgment on their various undergraduate and graduate programs.

Now both Yale and Harvard law schools have announced that they will no longer cooperate. In two separate letters posted on their websites, the law school deans excoriated U.S. News for using a methodology that they said devalued the efforts of schools like their own to recruit poor and working-class students, provide financial aid based on need and encourage students to go into low-paid public service law after graduation.

“It has become impossible to reconcile our principles and commitments with the methodology and incentives the U.S. News rankings reflect,” John F. Manning, the dean of Harvard Law, said in his statement.

The two deans said they had decided to withdraw only after they and “a number” of other schools had taken their concerns directly to U.S. News and been rebuffed.

The news was unveiled in dramatic fashion, beginning Wednesday morning with Yale Law’s dean, Heather K. Gerken, posting a statement. Later, Harvard joined in.

U.S. News reacted somewhat blandly to Yale, saying it stood by its “mission” to “ensure that law schools are held accountable for the education they will provide.”

Asked whether U.S. News would continue to rank Yale, Eric Gertler, chief executive of U.S. News, said that the organization was reviewing options.

After Harvard’s announcement, the tone became more conciliatory. “We agree that test scores don’t tell the full story of an applicant, and law schools make their own decisions on the applicant pool based on the mission of the school,” U.S. News said in an email.

But the statement said the American Bar Association still requires standardized tests for almost all law schools. “The rankings are a start, not an answer,” U.S. News said. “Our mission is, and has always been, to provide data on schools for prospective students and their families.”

The withdrawal of heavyweight institutions like Harvard and Yale is unlikely to topple the rankings industry. For one, only the law schools withdrew from the rankings. And even though U.S. News asks schools to provide their own data, much of the information is publicly available.

“It is unlikely that Yale Law’s action will change the (profit-seeking) behavior of U.S. News leaders unless a significant number of other name-brand institutions follow suit,” Robert Schaeffer, public education director of FairTest, an anti-testing group, said in an email on Wednesday.

But, he added, as Harvard joined in, “if a few more brand-name law schools join in quickly, this initiative will have clout.”

The rankings are entrenched in the culture of higher education — with every new annual ranking promoted by many of the schools that decry them. Prospective students have few other seemingly objective, data-based ways to judge schools.

Also, the rankings are perhaps more meaningful to lower-ranked institutions, which often advertise them prominently and depend on them to attract students, than to schools in the top 10, or even top 30, whose reputation and brand recognition are well established.

Yale, at No. 1, is followed in the law school rankings this year by Stanford, the University of Chicago, and then Columbia and Harvard, which were both ranked fourth.

Many critics of the rankings have said that the data can be easily manipulated, and pointed to the doubts this year over Columbia University’s data.

Over the summer, Columbia announced that it would no longer participate in the rankings of national universities, and said it was reviewing its data — which had resulted in a No. 2 spot — after a math professor had questioned its accuracy. The university ultimately admitted that some of its data, including undergraduate class size and the percentage of faculty with the highest degree in their field, had been inaccurate.

U.S. News kept Columbia in the rankings nonetheless but dropped it to No. 18.

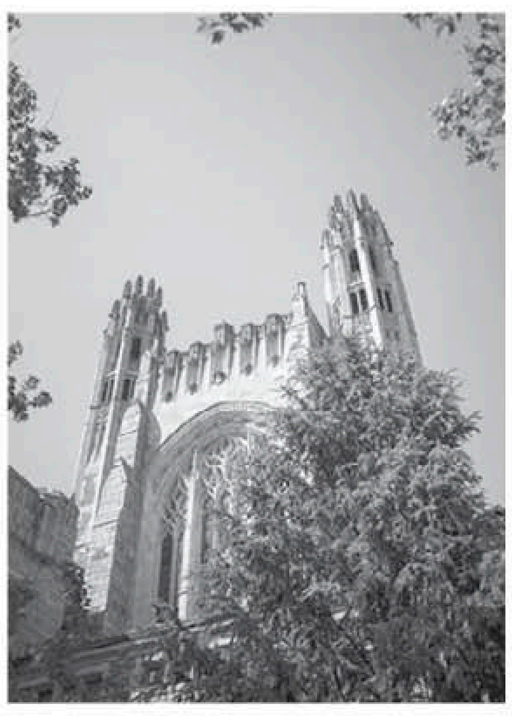
Even though Yale Law School has consistently been the top-rated school on the U.S. News list for the last three decades, Ms. Gerken said the rankings had been on her mind as she embarked on her second term as dean.

Asked why she would worry about them when Yale was No. 1, she said: “It’s not about Yale Law School. It’s about legal education and the profession. It’s a moment to step back and think about what we are doing.”

In her letter, Ms. Gerken called the U.S. News rankings a “for-profit” and “commercial” enterprise that is “profoundly flawed.” She said the methodology does not give enough weight to programs like Yale’s “that support public interest careers, champion need-based aid, and welcome working-class students into the profession,” and as a result, skews the rankings of law schools that emphasize that work.

She said that 20 percent of a law school’s overall ranking comes from grades and test scores. “This heavily weighted metric imposes tremendous pressure on schools to overlook promising students, especially those who cannot afford expensive test preparation courses,” she said in her letter. “It also pushes schools to use financial aid to recruit high-scoring students.”

That money, she said, could be diverted to scholarships for low-income students.



CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZIELLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Yale School of Law was No. 1 this year, and Harvard’s law school was tied for fourth.

Sharp criticism of the methods used by U.S. News & World Report.

Moreover, she said, the rankings were misleading in the way they portrayed the employment rate of Yale law students after graduation, an important metric for students who are acutely conscious that they have to start making money to pay off often exorbitant student loans.

Yale awards “many more public interest fellowships per student than any of our peers.” she wrote. “Even though our fellowships are highly selective and pay comparable salaries to outside fellowships, U.S. News appears to discount these invaluable opportunities to such an extent that these graduates are effectively classified as unemployed.”

The metrics also devalued students who wanted to pursue advanced degrees like a master’s or a Ph.D., Ms. Gerken said.

Mr. Manning, of Harvard, said the rankings methodology “can create perverse incentives that influence schools’ decisions in ways that undercut student choice and harm the interests of potential students.”

For one thing, he said, the “debt metric” adopted by U.S. News two years ago might appear to reflect lower debt at graduation because of generous financial aid. But the metric could also mean that a law school admitted “more students who have the resources to avoid borrowing,” he wrote. “And to the extent the debt metric creates an incentive for schools to admit better resourced students who don’t need to borrow, it risks harming those it is trying to help.”

There is an effort to do away with mandatory testing for admission to law school, but no final decision has been taken. At the same time, dozens of law schools have moved away from using the LSAT, replacing it with the GRE.

As for the rankings, many of the other top 10 law schools appeared on Wednesday to be holding their fire.

The University of Pennsylvania law school applauded Yale and Harvard “for their leadership” and said that it was “evaluating this issue,” but it did not immediately offer to join in.

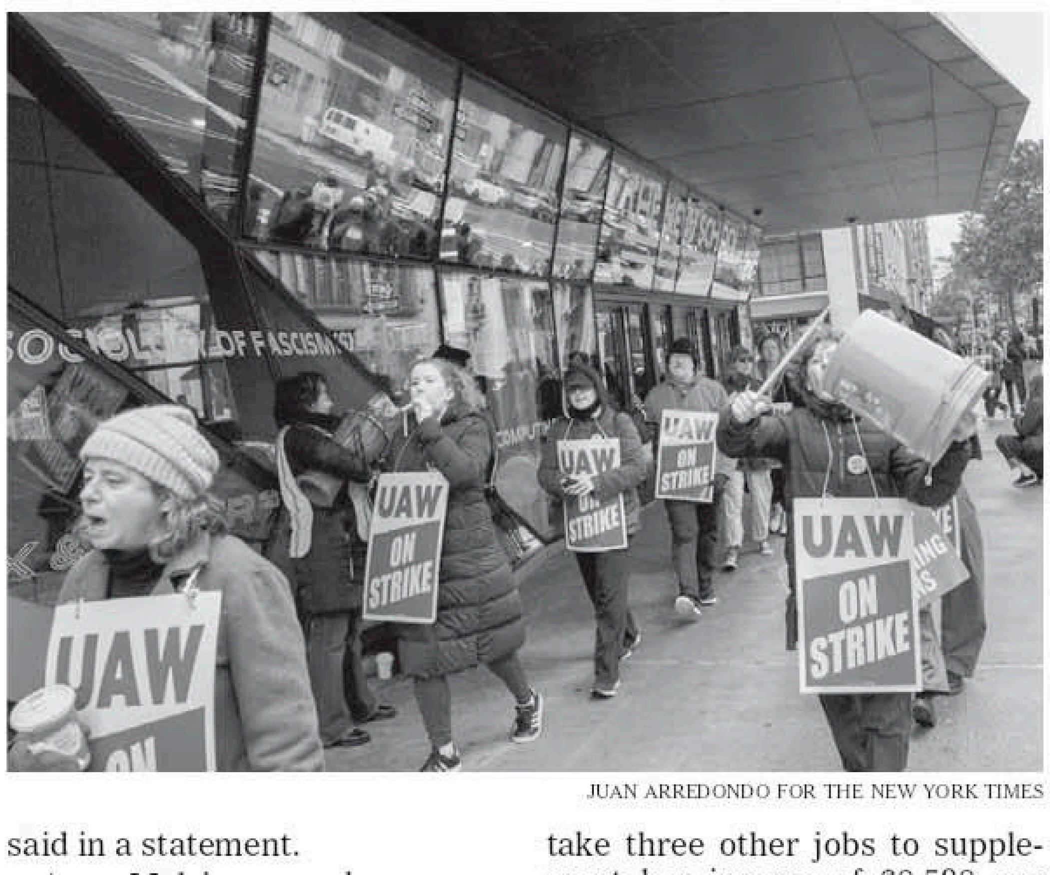
New York University officials said they were aware of the action by Harvard and Yale, but “we haven’t made any determination on the matter yet.”

Neelam Bohra contributed reporting. Alain Delaquérière contributed research.

New School Faces Strike By Professors Over Wages

By KIMIKO de FREYTAS-TAMURA

Part-time faculty members at the New School, a historically progressive university that includes the Parsons School of Design, walked out en masse on Wednesday to protest pay and working conditions.



JUAN ARREDONDO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Part-time professors walked out and about 200 protesters marched at the New School in Manhattan on Wednesday.

The strike is a culmination of years of contentious relations between the adjunct faculty and the university’s administration and is part of a nationwide trend; earlier this week, 48,000 academic staff in the University of California system went on strike over job security.

At the New School in New York City, teaching staff complained that administrators’ salaries were high compared with those of faculty, most of whom are part-time. At one point, the president of the New School was being paid more than the president of Harvard University.

Adjunct professors at the university have not received a raise in four years, and as a result, their real earnings have not kept up with inflation and are down 18 percent from 2018, according to A.C.T.-U.A.W. Local 7902, the union organizing the strike. The union said that while the university had offered a 3.5 percent wage increase, it was not sufficient given record inflation in recent months.

“The New School’s reputation rests on its progressive history and professed values — a reputation with which its treatment of workers fails to align,” the union said in a statement.

Amy Malsin, a spokeswoman for the university, said that negotiations would pick up again later in the week and that the school was “confident we will successfully reach a new agreement together.”

“The New School’s bargaining team is continuing to work incredibly hard to reach an agreement that prioritizes the mission of the university and preserves our students’ exceptional academic experience, while reflecting the sincere respect we have for our part-time faculty,” she added.

About 200 demonstrators showed up at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 14th Street, not far from the New School main campus building, shouting, “We’re out here fighting for our contracts,” as they carried signs that read “Administrative Thievery.”

“We are a majority of the faculty body at the New School, and we have not been treated with respect,” said Dianca London Potts, 35, a fiction teacher and a New School alumnus. “We work ourselves to the bone.”

Annie Lee Larson, a professor at Parsons School of Fashion who teaches knitting and embroidery for design, said that she had to take three other jobs to supplement her income of $8,598 per year for teaching two semester-long courses.

“I don’t have a safety net,” said Ms. Larson. “I live alone in one of the most expensive cities in the world. If I can’t pay my rent or bills, nobody else is stepping in to help.”

The New School posted guidance for students and faculties during the strike, which instructed students to continue their coursework. It said the school respected teachers’ right to strike.

Some tenured professors echoed the complaints of the striking adjuncts.

“The administrators seem to view themselves as essential and everyone else as inessential,” said Sanjay Reddy, an economics professor at the university, who analyzed compensation data that showed that management salaries had increased by 45 percent between 2014 and 2019.

During that same period, he calculated, revenue increased only 17 percent. The New School largely depends on tuition for its revenue, unlike other institutions with large endowments. In 2017, Mr. Reddy’s data showed that the institution’s former president, David Van Zandt, received higher wages than his counterpart at Harvard, which has a bigger endowment and larger revenue streams.

The New School is “perhaps an especially pronounced, extreme, case” of a general trend among higher education facilities where administrative expenditures have been rising, he said.

Nearly 90 percent of the university’s instructors are part-time, according to a trade union that represents part-time educators.

In response, Ms. Malsin said that the university’s administrative costs include “student advisers, financial aid counselors, student health professionals and all manner of other student-facing functions.” She said that “instruction and departmental research expenses” represented 36 percent of total expenditures in 2020, the largest portion of the university budget. Another third was spent on support and student services.

Many faculty — both adjunct and tenured — have argued that the university has not been transparent in sharing the details of these expenditures, noting that some senior administrative officials were nominally academics: A dean or an associate dean might have academic titles, even though their roles were administrative.

The total cost to attend the New School, including tuition, fees and on-campus living expenses, was $78,744 in 2021-22, an increase of 7 percent over the previous year, according to the National Center for Education Statistics, though students typically pay significantly less when financial aid is included.

The New School was founded in 1919 as the New School for Social Research.

Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

N

Opinion

The New York Times



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Chaos Inside Donald Trump's Mind

Michael Wolff

The author of three books about Donald Trump: "Fire and Fury," "Siege" and "Landslide."

IN AUGUST 2020, the Trump campaign found itself with a staggering $200 million budget shortfall. In September 2020, Brad Parscale, a senior adviser who had until recently served as campaign manager, had a public breakdown on the street in front of his house in Florida, and the police were called to restrain him.

In the crucial last months of the race, campaign staff members kept Donald Trump away from their data guru, Matt Oczkowski, whom Mr. Trump found weird and boring. And by the final weeks of the campaign, the incumbent president was being outspent by as much as three to one — an unprecedented mismatch in the history of modern presidential races.

In the opinion of the many Trump insiders with whom I have spoken, including nearly all the top members of his campaign and West Wing staff, those few months laid bare the chaos at the heart of Trumpian politics, exposing Mr. Trump for what he is: not a model chief executive but an inattentive, lazy, incompetent manager whose defiance of convention and hot mess of a personality were saddling his campaign with a heavy disadvantage.

The government can continue to function if a president isn't on top of the details, but a presidential campaign is in trouble when a candidate can't be bothered with the game plan and is dismissive of the people trying to stick to it. And while Mr. Trump won his first campaign and lost the second by only a relatively slim margin in just a few key states, that was in spite of the calamity that surrounded him.

The path to his 2024 declaration has been a characteristic prelude to the burden he imposes on a campaign. His close circle first believed he had signed off on plans for an announcement in early summer, which was seen as the best opportunity to frame the investigations proceeding against him as inherently political, stop the advancing prospects of Gov. Ron DeSantis and seek an early consolidation of the Republican Party behind Mr. Trump. But that time passed without any action or explanation from the prospective candidate. New dates were rumored to be set, and missed, throughout the summer and early fall, first, according to one aide, to distract from the Mar-a-Lago documents search and then to position him to claim as his own the red wave he believed was coming.

At the same time, though, there was never any doubt that he would run. "He would put his head down and die if another Republican became the king," the aide told me. In long rambling calls and meetings with aides and friends, Mr. Trump never considered a different avenue for himself. At the same time, he made little effort to assemble a team and organization. His most reliable political handlers — among them Jared Kushner, Stephen Miller, Jason Miller and Kayleigh McEnany — were pursuing their own interests. Even Donald Trump Jr. was staying mostly on the sidelines. No new team had clearly emerged.

Boris Epshteyn, a persistent Trump hanger-on who never quite made it into the White House and who became involved in Rudy Giuliani's ludicrous legal efforts to overturn the 2020 election, is one of the few people now front and center in the incipient campaign — a portent of the kind of talent that might fill the West Wing in a Trump restoration.

While few other politicians might contemplate a presidential run without a ready and serious brain trust, staffing for Mr. Trump is only ever a remote concern: He has always run things out of his own chaotic head.

Having written three books in less than four years about Mr. Trump, with near constant input from his closest aides and friends, as well as hours of rambling from him, I have come to two primary conclusions: that there is almost never any true plan, strategy or forethought in Trump world and that everyone around him lives in the prison of his monologues, which allow for no interruptions or reality checks and overrule any plans others have tried to make. His fixations, misunderstandings and contempt for better minds that might correct him reign.

The aide recently described the constant churning within Trump world, as grievances and resentments are rehashed and blame assigned, as the workings of Mr. Trump's "blender brain."

Chaos suits him, allowing him again and again to turn what ought to be humiliating and defeating disorder into potent conflict: If he can't find a solution to a problem, he can almost always identify an enemy to blame it on. Trouble is, the problem remains.

The federal grand juries investigating him, plus the investigations in New York and Atlanta, are to him, and apparently to many of his followers, political prosecutions. Running for president becomes his main defense. But it doesn't solve the problem that he has monthly multimillion-dollar legal bills, with lawyers on retainer, now being paid by the Republican National Committee and by his super PACs, which he seems to view as his $100 million personal piggy bank. Both sources of funds will dry up with his declaration — the R.N.C.'s support because it can't show favoritism for one Republican candidate over another and the super PACs' because they can't coordinate with Mr. Trump now that he has officially entered the race. Without their support, Mr. Trump's campaign could soon be in a serious, even mortal, financial hole.

> **The inattentive ex-president is saddling his campaign with a heavy disadvantage.**

Yes, he survived Impeachment 1 and Impeachment 2 and the Russia "hoax" and Trump University and Trump steaks and Trump women . . . but no one has ever run for president under criminal indictment, and many if not most Trump aides believe that at least one is coming. An indictment would surely help provide more of the Sturm und Drang that motivate him and his legions, but it would also impose, over the coming two years of the campaign, an almost unimaginable burden in cost, time, human resources and attention from an uncooperative man. And, of course, he could well be convicted.

Joe Biden will turn 80 this month, clearly frail and with obvious mental lapses. This is, admittedly, a weak hand. But the Democrats yet have a critical advantage: the professionalism needed to administer a modern presidential campaign, which is one of the most intensive management efforts imaginable, a complicated, data-driven enterprise that involves not only raising $1 billion at the drop of a hat but also spending it wisely within months.

The Republicans may find themselves stuck with a candidate who makes numbers what he wants them to be, puts family above professionals and has no doubt that his own advice is better than everyone else's. Arguably, Mr. Trump won in 2016 only because, three months before the election, Steve Bannon stepped in with a Hail Mary strategy of concentrating on the normally Democratic states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania while sidelining Mr. Trump with an amped-up schedule of the daily rallies he craved.

Mr. Bannon later claimed credit for the victory, guaranteeing that Mr. Trump would never again give someone that opportunity, even if it meant defeat — hence the appointment in 2020 of Mr. Parscale, an inexperienced and apparently unstable campaign manager happy to be a toady to the president and his family.

In this petty vindictiveness lies the key point: Mr. Trump's main goal isn't victory. It's holding the spotlight. His effort to upend the 2020 result was a colossal failure, but it succeeded in keeping him at center stage. Were he to become president again, we might see not a breaking of democracy, as liberals dread, but an ever more bizarre distraction from it.

Mr. Trump does not learn from his mistakes but rather comes to see them as virtues. Another Trump campaign will — like the two before it, as well as his White House term — lack the most basic management controls. This may well help empower him, allowing him to be the spectacle that he believes, not unreasonably, his base wants him to be. But it does not help make wise spending decisions.

Democrats, in their inability to find a language to quiet or dismiss Mr. Trump, will continue to be his reliable dramatic foil. They will threaten, investigate and possibly indict him, to his immediate benefit, galvanizing his passionate base. The result will be another close election. The good news for Democrats — though those will confirm the resentments of the Trumpian base — is that a presidential election, along with the world itself, is financially, organizationally and data driven, demanding great expertise and keen attention. That's not a reality that even the opera of a Trump campaign can change.

COLUMNIST | LYDIA POLGREEN

India Showed Me Twitter's Perils and Potential

WITH THE BENEFIT of ample hindsight, it has come to feel inevitable that Twitter would turn into a cesspool of abuse and misinformation and that the powerful — governments, politicians, corporations, celebrities — would find ways to control and manipulate it to their own benefit.

But as I've watched Twitter descend into chaos over the past couple of weeks, I've been thinking about how being on the platform felt in May 2009, when I arrived in India as a correspondent for The Times. I had signed up for an account about six months earlier, but it wasn't until I landed in Delhi that I understood the platform's potential.

Twitter was an intoxicating window into my new assignment. Long suppressed groups found their voices. Movements against corruption gained steam and brought real change. Outrage over a horrific gang rape in Delhi built a movement to fight an epidemic of sexual violence.

"What we didn't realize — because we took it for granted for so long — is that most people spoke with a great deal of freedom, and completely unconscious freedom," said Nilanjana Roy, a writer who was part of my initial group of Twitter friends in India. "You could criticize the government, debate certain religious practices. It seems unreal now."

Soon enough, other kinds of underrepresented voices also started to appear on — and then to dominate — the platform. As women, Muslims and people from lower castes spoke out, the inevitable backlash came. Supporters of the conservative opposition party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, felt that they had long been ignored by the mainstream press. Now they had the chance to grab the mic.

And grab it they did. By 2014, when the B.J.P. first won national elections, driven in no small part by its innovative use of social media, Indian Twitter was well on its way to becoming one of the world's most vitriolic online spaces, filled with ad hominem attacks and incitements to violence. And having used social media so adroitly to win power, the new government realized that controlling platforms like Twitter would be crucial to suppressing dissent.

Into this stew steps Elon Musk. In buying Twitter, Musk has garbed himself as a free-speech warrior. He had been deeply critical of the company's content moderation decisions, the most controversial of which was blocking Donald Trump from the platform.

Viewed from the United States, these skirmishes over the power of tech platforms seem like a central battleground of free speech. But the real threat in much of the world is not the policies of companies, but of governments.

Nowhere is that clearer than in India, where before Musk's acquisition Twitter had been fighting a legal battle to protect its users from government censorship. The real question now is if Musk's commitment to "free speech" extends beyond conservatives in America and to the billions of people in the Global South who rely on the internet for open communication.

Last month, Freedom House released its annual report on freedom on the internet. Allie Funk, one of the report's authors, told me that while much of the focus has been on countries like China, which overtly restricts access to huge swaths of the internet, the real war over the future of internet freedom is being waged in what she called "swing states," big, fragile democracies like India.

The winning side will not be decided in Silicon Valley or Beijing, the two poles around which debate over free expression on the internet have largely orbited. It will be the actions of governments in capitals like Brasília; New Delhi; Abuja, Nigeria; and Jakarta, Indonesia. Across the world, countries are putting in place frameworks that on their face seem designed to combat online abuse and misinformation but that are largely used to stifle dissent or to enable abuse of the enemies of those in power.



MUHAMMED SELIM KORKUTATA/ANADOLU AGENCY, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Does Musk's commitment to free speech extend to the Global South?

"Some laws are introduced with good faith to tackle disinformation and harassment," Funk said. "But other governments are passing laws just to increase their power over speech online and to force companies to be an extension of state surveillance."

Over the summer, when Musk was still trying to wriggle out of buying Twitter, his lawyers filed a countersuit against the company that included a grab-bag of justifications for scuttling the deal. One claim went largely unnoticed in the United States but caught my eye: His lawyers argued that Twitter had engaged in "risky litigation against the Indian government," and put one of the largest markets in jeopardy.

Twitter had indeed sued the Indian government in July — and for good reasons. In 2021, India had created a raft of rules that gave the government more power to order tech platforms to remove content, and to hold employees criminally liable for speech that appears on their services. Exactly the kind of laws Funk was referring to.

India's government had demanded that Twitter block tweets and accounts from a variety of journalists, activists and politicians. The company went to court, arguing that these demands amounted to censorship. Now Musk was casting doubt on whether the company should be defying government demands that muzzle freedom of expression.

Maybe Musk was just trying to escape a purchase that he knew would be disastrous. (And it certainly has been disastrous, at least so far.) But it seems that this is actually what he believes. In April, he tweeted: "By 'free speech', I simply mean that which matches the law. I am against censorship that goes far beyond the law. If people want less free speech, they will ask government to pass laws to that effect. Therefore, going beyond the law is contrary to the will of the people."

Musk is either exceptionally naïve or willfully ignorant about the relationship between government power and free speech, especially in fragile democracies. That should worry anyone who cares about the future of free expression on the internet for billions of people. The combination of a rigid commitment to following national laws and a hands-off approach to content moderation is combustible and highly dangerous.

Independent journalism is increasingly under threat in India. Much of the mainstream press has been neutered by a mix of intimidation and conflicts of interests created by the sprawling conglomerates and powerful families that control much of Indian media. Like the United States, India has a big election coming up in 2024. Preserving a free and open public square for debate will be critical to protecting India's democracy.

Twitter has historically fought against censorship. Whether that will continue under Musk seems very much a question. The Indian government has reasons to expect friendly treatment: Musk's company Tesla has been trying to enter the Indian car market and in May it hit an impasse in negotiations with the government. India's Economic Times reported last month that one of Musk's other companies, SpaceX, would seek government permission to offer its Starlink satellite internet service there.

As Twitter plunges into ever more mayhem under Musk, the big question is whether it will survive at all. I hope it does.

Social media has absolutely deepened polarization and abetted extremism. But it did so by breaking sclerotic and easily manipulated monopolies on speech. Musk is right that the world needs a digital public square; unfortunately, he seems to have little idea that creating one involves balancing free speech against abuse, misinformation and government overreach. Twitter had just barely managed to get the hang of that difficult, important work in recent years. Musk has left little doubt that rather than continue that work, he'd rather burn it all down.

COLUMNIST | ROSS DOUTHAT

Trump's Announcement Is a Sign of Weakness

THE DEFIANT TIMING of Donald Trump's announcement of his candidacy for president in 2024, dropping amid Republican recriminations over their midterm disappointments, is an admission of weakness poorly disguised as a show of strength.

The intended flex is obvious: The early announcement is meant to cow potential rivals, seize the media spotlight, run up endorsements and fund-raising totals, and hopefully elevate the former president in national polling.

It's also intended as a pre-emptive political strike against any potential indictment, assuring Republican primary voters that the Biden Department of Justice is coming after him only because it wants to keep him from the White House.

Even before the midterm results, though, it was a sign of Trump's potential weakness that such calculation was even necessary. If the former president were as strong as he wished everyone to imagine him to be, he could have afforded to wait in Mar-a-Lago, accepting supplicants, while any pretenders exhausted themselves with futile campaigning and the people clamored for their once and future king.

Instead, he decided on this move, telegraphing it before the midterms, because his position had steadily weakened over the course of 2022. The emergence of Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida as the singular, popular, potentially deep-pocketed rival, the drip-drip of state polling showing DeSantis competitive with Trump, the uncertain politics of a potential prosecution, the pre-election polling showing more Republicans identifying with their party than with Trump — it all created a scenario in which the former president clearly needed to do more to win than simply show up.

And now the results of the election, the DeSantis landslide in Florida and the consistent underperformance of Trump-associated Republican candidates nationwide, have made it uncertain whether the former president should even be considered the 2024 favorite anymore. This isn't just a matter of Trump-skeptical conservatives griping on Twitter or anonymous Republican politicians hoping vaguely that this time will be different; two postelection surveys of potential G.O.P. voters, one national and one of delegate-rich Texas, show DeSantis suddenly in the lead.

A Politico/Morning Consult poll released today shows Trump leading DeSantis nationally 47 to 33 percent, so it's too soon to talk about Trump as a primary-season underdog. But even that poll suggests he's starting under 50 percent, despite a claim to incumbency and universal name recognition.

This means, among other things, that the campaign that he just began — in a notably low-energy style, it must be said — will need an actual strategy. And here the very Trumpification of the G.O.P., the routing of his enemies and the burial of the older models of Republicanism, may work against his attempted restoration. As David Byler of The Washington Post noted in a shrewd summertime column, by remaking the party in his own image, Trump has potentially given some of his supporters permission to look elsewhere in 2024.

Much of Trump's success in 2016, Byler pointed out, rested on his distinctiveness within that year's G.O.P. field. This wasn't just a matter of his celebrity or his zest for demagogy. He also tapped into a fundamental policy mismatch between the Republican Party and many of its voters, by running to the party establishment's right on immigration and somewhat to its left on issues like foreign policy, health care and entitlement reform.

Running on mythos alone isn't enough to defeat a disciplined rival.

Flash forward to 2022, however, and those contrasts have diminished. On substance and style alike, the party and its leaders moved closer to Trump during his presidency; at the same time, by governing as a fairly conventional Republican — tax cuts, yes; infrastructure, not so much — Trump also moved closer to the party. This convergence has left rank-and-file Republicans more satisfied with the G.O.P. than they were in 2016 while depriving Trump of signature issues that might set him apart from a figure like DeSantis. And the main exception, his determination to relitigate the 2020 election, isn't obviously a high priority even within the Republican Party, and it's likely to be less of one now that so many "Stop the Steal" candidates have gone down to general-election defeat.

This vulnerability need not be fatal to his second coming. Trump's mythic narrative — the wronged and exiled king returning to claim his throne — remains potent, and his adaptable ruthlessness has not yet been turned to the task of making DeSantis look like the smaller, weaker man.

But running on the mythos alone while bragging about his past glories and accomplishments probably isn't enough to defeat a disciplined primary rival with unified establishment support. And it also sets up Trump poorly for a general election, should he eke out a victory. In 2016, his primary-season populism segued naturally into the general election pitch that helped him win the Midwest and, with it, the Electoral College. It's hard to see a similar segue from a primary season message fixated on voter-fraud conspiracy or endlessly replaying his first term's greatest hits.

So to the extent that Trump and his team are capable of executing a strategy, they will be looking for versions of what he found six years ago: opportunities to outflank a more establishment Republican in multiple directions, from the right one moment and the left the next.

Those opportunities will depend on the specific positions that DeSantis or some other rival (but come on, it can really only be DeSantis) ends up taking. For example, Trump's announcement speech's boast about his record of peacemaking previews a scenario where the Ukraine war drags on while a potential Taiwan crisis continues to percolate, Beltway Republicans continue to take a generally hawkish line (the populist flank in the House notwithstanding) and Trump pitches himself as the peace candidate, the tough guy who can make the necessary deals with Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping to stabilize the world.

Or in domestic policy, you can imagine a world in which inflation tugs Republicans toward austerity politics, allowing Trump to pull off some shamelessly dishonest posturing: *We replaced Obamacare with Trumpcare, it's beautiful, and it works, and now a bunch of Swamp Creatures and Ron DeSanctimonious want to take it away.* Which then could be paired with some shocking gesture that even a practiced culture warrior like DeSantis might be loath to imitate, some variation on the Muslim ban.

We don't know what that gesture might be, but that's the point — just as the original idea of a Muslim ban was an on-the-fly response to Islamist terrorism, the headlines of 2023 will presumably offer something suited to Trump's instincts.

It's those instincts, ultimately, that were decisive in the destruction of Jeb Bush, Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz in 2016 — the shamelessness, the cunning, the ideological flexibility, the quick sizing up of opponents' weaknesses. Does Trump still have them sharp and ready? Is he too deep in his labyrinth of self-pity and conspiracy?

Lucky America; lucky Republican Party; lucky, lucky media: Everyone gets to spend the next year and more finding out.

LETTERS

Trump Is Running Again. The Critics Pounce.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Declaring Run, Trump Ignores Party Setbacks" (front page, Nov. 16):

As Donald Trump announces another run for the presidency, the country, the Republican Party and the media would do well to heed the old saying "Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me."

In his successful 2016 run for the presidency, everyone underestimated him and unwittingly became his accomplice. The country was conned, the G.O.P. was caught flat-footed, and the media in its lust for high ratings and increased readership gave him a plethora of free publicity because, after all, the man's a clown. What could possibly go wrong?

Your story states that Mr. Trump's "unusually early announcement was motivated in part by a calculation that a formal candidacy may help shield him from multiple investigations" regarding his attempts to overturn the 2020 election. I agree with everything in that sentence except the words "in part."

He's certainly not running again to help the country. When did he ever put the country ahead of his ego and his personal needs? See the pandemic. He's not running again to help his party. See what his endorsements did for the G.O.P. in this year's midterms.

For their part, the Republicans, some of them at least, are finally speaking out against Mr. Trump and his candidacy. But not in patriotic response to what he did to the country in richly earning two impeachments and causing the Jan. 6 Capitol riot. Heavens, no. It's because of their own aspirations. They smell political blood in the water.

Don't let Donald Trump fool us twice. Or shame on us.

GREG JOSEPH, SUN CITY, ARIZ.

The writer is a retired journalist and television critic.

TO THE EDITOR:

As a Republican, I am concerned with the direction of my party after the 2020 presidential election and the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection. Our underwhelming showing during the midterm elections felt like the perfect time to abandon the chaos surrounding Donald Trump. But watching the former president's presidential campaign announcement, I became worried that, for the third time, we would fall prey to his deception and divisiveness.

Instead of trying to be a unifier, the former president has criticized prominent Republican officials in hopes of tamping down any opposition brewing to his new campaign. Once again, the former president has placed himself above the interests of his party and the American voters.

But for all the chatter that the Republican Party is ready to move on from Mr. Trump, the former president is still polling above his likely competition. And if Republican voters nominate him for a third time to be president, I fear that our party will see some dark days in the future.

KIRAN BHATIA
BROOKLINE, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

Please do us all a favor by limiting your coverage of Donald Trump. He thrives on attention. He is totally unfit for office, and we are tired of reading about him.

SALLY MCMILLEN
DAVIDSON, N.C.

The writer is emerita professor of history at Davidson College.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "A Fractured G.O.P. Seeks New Direction Amid Power Struggle" (news article, Nov. 12):

Divisions within the Republican Party raise several questions. If Ron DeSantis prevails in what would likely be a bruising contest for the nomination in 2024, what can we expect from Donald Trump's supporters? The answer may depend on whether Republicans then resemble a traditional political party, or continue to resemble a cult.

Will those who supported Mr. Trump be willing to fall in line and vote for a nominee who is not the leader of their cult? And if many do not, what would be the prospects for a Republican victory?

JOHN BECKER, EDISON, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

I predict that if Ron DeSantis is the Republican Party's presidential nominee in 2024, Donald Trump will not bow out gracefully, given his contempt for Mr. DeSantis.

Rather than sit on the sidelines like a loser, he'll spitefully run as a third-party candidate, demonstrating once again his power by ruining any hope that Mr. DeSantis and the Republicans have of recapturing the presidency.

JOHN SCANLAN
WETHERSFIELD, CONN.

TO THE EDITOR:

With all their pent-up grievance anger, MAGA Republicans are hellbent on starting a civil war. But rather than being between left and right, it looks as if this civil war is going to be within the Republican Party. Stay tuned. This stands to be a doozy!

DAVID ZOLT, LAKEWOOD, OHIO

Abortion and the Midterms: 'Respect Women'

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Abortion Swayed Voters More Than Was Predicted" (news article, Nov. 11):

All voters enter the voting box alone. That means women enter it alone. There, women vote their real needs — their needs for autonomy, privacy, respect. Just like men.

No pollster is listening, making a little mark in a box for them. Likewise, no partner hovers in the background. No political group is chanting, impassioning, judging.

There's no whisper but the woman's own intelligence. The woman alone makes her mark. And what she has said to everyone else is: Trust me. I trust myself. I make good decisions. I am your mother, your sister, your daughter, your partner.

Respect women. You are hearing *their* voice — finally.

JOCELYN ELLIS, SEATTLE

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Not Trump's Night: A Red Wave That Wasn't" (letters, Nov. 10):

Donald Trump influenced the outcome of the midterm elections in another way, besides those cited in the letters. By nominating extremely conservative, tone-deaf, close-minded judges to the Supreme Court, he reminded the electorate that citizens' votes are their voice.

The defeat of Roe awakened many citizens to their power in our precious democracy, thereby making the so-called red wave a mere ripple. Hopefully memories are long and recognition of the importance of a single vote will carry over to future elections, even when rights aren't threatened.

MAUREEN PRINDIVILLE
LINCOLN, CALIF.

Whiz-Kid Scorecard

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "The Folly of Counting on the Tech Whiz Kid," by Margaret O'Mara (Opinion guest essay, Nov. 16), about Sam Bankman-Fried, the founder of the cryptocurrency exchange FTX:

The young people Ms. O'Mara mentions who succeeded (like Steve Jobs and Bill Gates) developed real, world-changing products. The two who failed (Elizabeth Holmes and Mr. Bankman-Fried) were selling a fraudulent product in one case and a product with no underlying value in the second.

These projects would have failed no matter who was behind them. Mature adult investors should know better.

DESMOND G. SHERIDAN
GREENSBORO, N.C.

A Migrant Crisis

TO THE EDITOR:

"Climbing the 'Hill of Death' Without Her Mother" (front page, Nov. 12), about migrants fleeing for their lives along a 70-mile hellish jungle pass in Panama, reminds us that the current refugee crisis is not about "open borders," as the Republicans have been allowed to frame the debate.

A more reality-based national conversation should be about the existential crisis of the increasing number of societies across the planet that can no longer sustain human life.

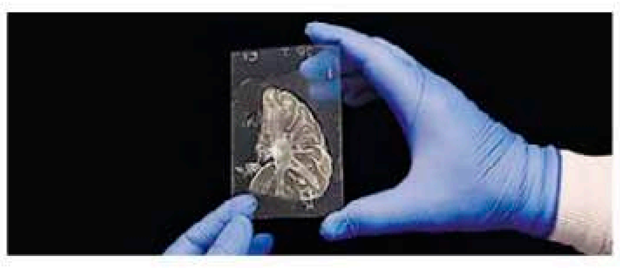
BOB SALZMAN, NEW YORK


Cartier

4 MOVIES
In a Hollywood blockbuster, two leading producers will soon join forces to produce a massive horror film factory.



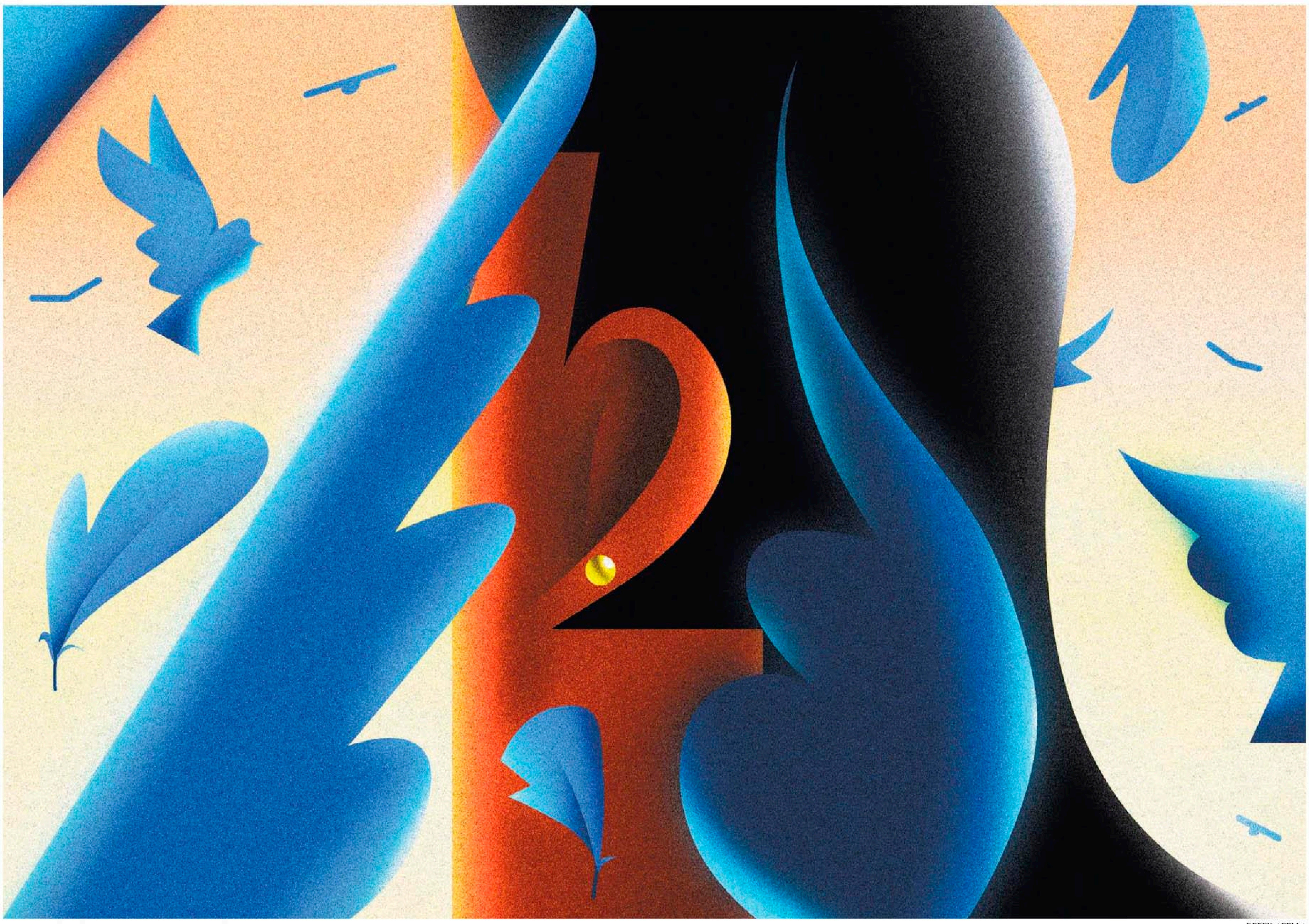
5 SOCIAL MEDIA
Elon Musk has given Twitter employees a deadline to either embrace his vision or leave the company.



8 SPORTS
Researchers are optimistic that tests are within reach that could diagnose C.T.E. in living patients.

Business
The New York Times

Lessons From the Turmoil at Twitter



DEREK ABELLA

Don't delete your account just yet, but Musk's takeover can teach us a lot about how to navigate social networks.

Tech Fix

By BRIAN X. CHEN

Sheer chaos has surrounded Elon Musk's takeover of Twitter over the last few weeks. More than half of Twitter's employees have been fired or have resigned. The verification system no longer means much. And some users have reported problems with security features. So if you have an account on the social network, what do you do?

Unfortunately, there is no simple answer. But this continuing spectacle presents an opportunity for us to learn how to have healthier relationships with social platforms so we are not dependent on any one of them.

First, it is important to understand what is happening at Twitter. Threat experts told me they were concerned that the turmoil at Twitter, including the sudden lack of cybersecurity leaders and many community moderators, would cause parts of the site to stop working and, at worst, that security holes might lead to compromised accounts. But deactivating a Twitter account also poses risks because an impersonator could then more easily manipulate a person's followers.

What's more, those who have already left Twitter quickly realized there was no real alternative. Apps like Mastodon, the open-source site that involves posting on a social feed similar to Twitter's timeline, are tricky for most people to set up. Reddit is more siloed by topics. LinkedIn is work-focused, Pinterest is centered on hobbies, TikTok is video-centric and Meta's Facebook — well, let's just say it has its own problems.

"Usually when we have an exodus, we're going from one place to another,"

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

U.K. Inflation Hits 11.1%, Driven by Energy Costs

By LIZ ALDERMAN

Britain's cost-of-living crisis deepened in October, as consumer prices surged 11.1 percent from a year earlier, the highest in more than 40 years, granting no relief to households struggling to keep up with large increases in the price of food, heating and gas.

The increase was higher than expected, after the annual inflation rate had reached 10.1 percent in September. On a month-to-month basis, the Consumer Prices Index rose 2 percent from September.

Despite a government support plan designed to shield households and businesses from the scourge of skyrocketing energy bills, gas and electricity were the biggest driver behind the sharp run-up in consumer prices, the Office for National Statistics said. The price of food also marched higher, for the 15th straight month, as supermarkets continued to pass on increases in production costs.

"Staggeringly, consumer prices jumped up by 2 percent in one month, which is equivalent to the Bank of England's target for the rise in prices over the course

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Crisis Escalates in October

Annual change in Britain's Consumer Prices Index



Source: Office for National Statistics

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Wallet Open, But on Hunt For Bargains

By JORDYN HOLMAN

Despite months of unease about the state of the economy, Americans remain willing to spend money on all sorts of goods. But they are making it clear that retailers must work harder than they have over the last two years to get them to win their dollars.

Retail sales rose 1.3 percent in October, the Department of Commerce said on Wednesday. That was higher than expected and a promising reflection of consumer sentiment during the holiday shopping season, especially since the near-record-high inflation Americans have felt this year has moderated a bit.

But that spending was boosted by the earlier-than-usual holiday deals that enticed shoppers last month. For the first time, Amazon held a Prime Day in October, filling the site with discounts, in addition to its usual time in June. Target rolled out its Deal Days. And Kohl's offered promotions on toys

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

In Testimony, Musk Rebuts Shareholders

By Jack Ewing, Isabella Simonetti and Peter Eavis

Elon Musk testified on Wednesday that he was not involved in the discussions among Tesla board members about a 2018 pay package that granted him billions of dollars in stock options, helping to make him the world's richest person.

Speaking in a courtroom in Wilmington, Del., Mr. Musk pushed back against accusations in a shareholder lawsuit that the electric car company's board was stacked with friends and other people close to him who did his bidding.

"I was completely focused" on managing Tesla, he said.

The case, in which Mr. Musk testified for less than three hours, centers on a compensation package that awarded Mr. Musk stock options that gave him the right to acquire nearly $50 billion in Tesla shares if the company met certain revenue, profit and share price

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

The Digest

MEDIA

PBS Names 2 New Hosts For Flagship 'NewsHour'

PBS has named a pair of veteran Washington journalists as the new co-anchors of its flagship newscast, "NewsHour," replacing Judy Woodruff after she retires at the end of this year.

Amna Nawaz, the chief correspondent of "NewsHour," and Geoff Bennett, its chief Washington correspondent, are set to start as co-anchors on Jan. 2, PBS announced Wednesday.

Ms. Woodruff, 75, is among the industry's pioneering female reporters. Her final broadcast of "NewsHour" as anchor will air on Dec. 30. She started as a "NewsHour" co-anchor in 2013, alongside Gwen Ifill.

Ms. Nawaz, 43, a former bureau chief for NBC News in Islamabad, Pakistan. She served as an anchor and correspondent at ABC News before joining "NewsHour" as a substitute anchor in 2018.

Mr. Bennett, 42, joined PBS this year from NBC News, where he covered the White House and served as a substitute anchor on MSNBC. *MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM*

AUTOMOBILES

Toyota Retools Its Prius For the Cost Conscious



MAKI SHIRAKI/REUTERS

Toyota rolled out a two-liter plug-in version of its Prius on Wednesday in an attempt to reboot the 25-year-old hybrid, which was once at the cutting edge of low-emissions technology, and appeal more widely to cost-conscious drivers.

Toyota billed the new Prius, with its sharklike front and ability to operate as an electric-only vehicle for most daily driving, as a way to bring hybrids to a wider audience. Battery-powered electric vehicles like those made by Tesla remain too expensive for many consumers.

Introduced in 1997, the gas-electric Prius was a hit with ecoconscious drivers, and even now it is among the most fuel-efficient midpriced cars. Although worldwide sales have reached around five million, the Prius has in recent years been overshadowed by Tesla and other all-electric cars.

Despite hailing the car's accessibility, Toyota did not give details on the cost. The hybrid models will arrive this winter and the plug-in hybrids in the spring, it said. *REUTERS*

EXECUTIVES

CBS Entertainment Chief Will Exit Amid Cutbacks

The head of CBS's entertainment division is stepping down at the end of the year, as the parent company of America's most-watched broadcast network looks to cut costs in a challenging ad market.

Kelly Kahl, the entertainment executive behind shows including "The Equalizer," "NCIS: Hawai'i" and "Fire Country," told employees about his exit in an email.

Mr. Kahl will be replaced by Amy Reisenbach, the executive vice president of current programs at CBS. In that role, Ms. Reisenbach has overseen creative affairs for scripted series broadcast on CBS and shows that CBS Studios produced for other broadcast networks.

"Kelly has been a fierce advocate for the vitality of broadcast television while being a steady and respected network leader through the good times as well as turbulent periods," George Cheeks, the chief executive of CBS, said in an email to employees. *BENJAMIN MULLIN*

S&P 500 INDEX
–0.8%
3,958.79

DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
–0.1%
33,553.83

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
–1.5%
11,183.66

10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
3.69%
–0.11 points

CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
$85.59
–$1.33

GOLD (N.Y.)
$1,775.80
–$1.00

Wall Street Slips as Target's Profit Slides

By The Associated Press

Retailers and technology companies led a broad slide for stocks on Wednesday after a dismal financial report from Target overshadowed a positive retail sector report from the government.

The S&P 500 fell 0.8 percent,

STOCKS & BONDS

wiping out most of its gains from a day earlier. The Dow Jones industrial average fell 0.1 percent, and the Nasdaq lost 1.5 percent.

Discouraging quarterly updates from Target and other retailers put investors in a selling mood, despite a report showing that U.S. retail sales remained strong last month.

Target slumped 13.1 percent after cutting its forecasts for the holiday season following a surprisingly big drop in its third-quarter profits. The retailer also cut its forecasts for the holiday season and said its sales had slowed sharply in recent weeks.

"I think the market might be saying the broader data that we have is OK, but what Target is saying is a little more forward-looking in terms of what they expect for the holiday season, and that might not be so good," said Willie Delwiche, investment strategist at All Star Charts.

Other retailers also helped drag the market lower. Advance Auto Parts fell 15.1 percent after reporting weak financial results. Best Buy slumped 8.6 percent. Macy's, which will report its financial results on Thursday, fell 8.1 percent.

Big technology companies also fell. The chip maker Micron Technology dropped 6.7 percent after announcing some production cuts because of weak demand. Nvidia fell 4.5 percent.

All told, the S&P 500 fell 32.94 points to 3,958.79. The Dow slid 39.09 points to 33,553.83. The tech-heavy Nasdaq dropped 174.75 points to 11,183.66.

Smaller company stocks also lost ground. The Russell 2000 index fell 36.04 points, or 1.9 percent, to 1,853.17.

Wall Street has been closely watching the latest economic updates, including reports that continue to cool. Much of the market's prior rally was due to hopes that inflation was easing, which could portend less aggressive hikes for interest rates from the Federal Reserve.

The Fed has been raising interest rates in an effort to slow the economy and tame the hottest inflation in decades. Wall Street is worried that it could hit the brakes too hard on economic growth and bring on a recession.

The latest government report on retail sales for October shows that consumer spending remains strong, though it's unclear whether that's because of more purchases or higher prices.

Strong consumer spending is typically a good sign for the economy, but it could make the Fed's strategy of cooling the economy more difficult. The central bank has already raised its key overnight rate to a range of 3.75 percent to 4 percent from virtually zero earlier this year. It has said it plans to increase rates further and hold them at that high rate for a while to grind down inflation.

Bond yields were mixed. The yield on the 10-year Treasury, which influences mortgage rates, fell to 3.69 percent from 3.78 percent late Tuesday. The yield on the two-year Treasury rose to 4.37 percent from 4.35 percent late Tuesday.

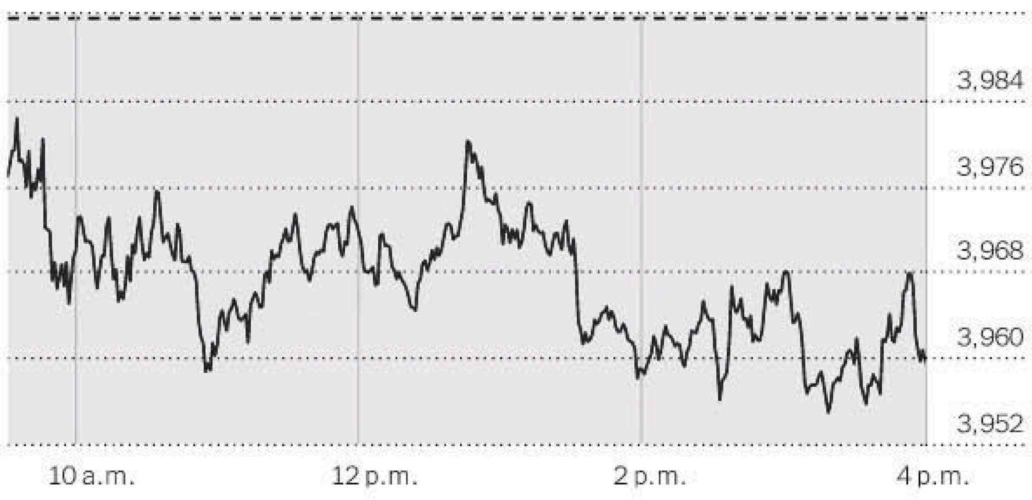
Markets in Europe fell as investors watched developments in Russia's war against Ukraine. Geopolitical tensions had flared a day earlier after a missile fell on farmland in Poland, a NATO member, killing two people. NATO's chief and the president of Poland said there were no indications that the missile was a deliberate attack, adding that Ukraine most likely launched the Soviet-era projectile as it was fending off a Russian air assault.

The conflict is hanging over the energy market. A worsening war in Ukraine could cause spikes in prices for oil, gas and other commodities that the region produces. U.S. crude oil prices initially rose, before settling 1.5 percent lower.

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Wednesday

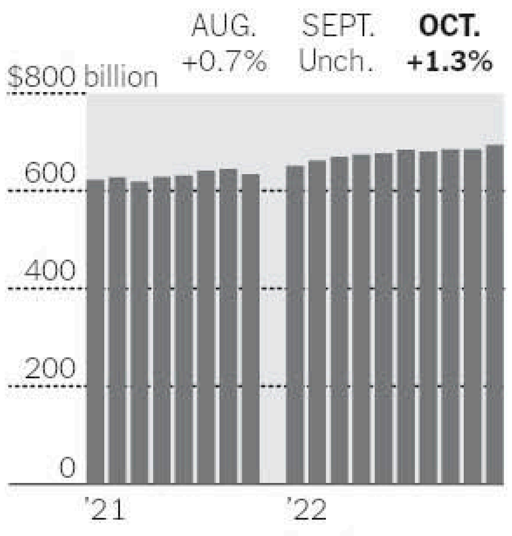
-- Previous Close: 3,991.73



Source: FactSet THE NEW YORK TIMES

Retail Sales

Total retail and food services sales, seasonally adjusted.

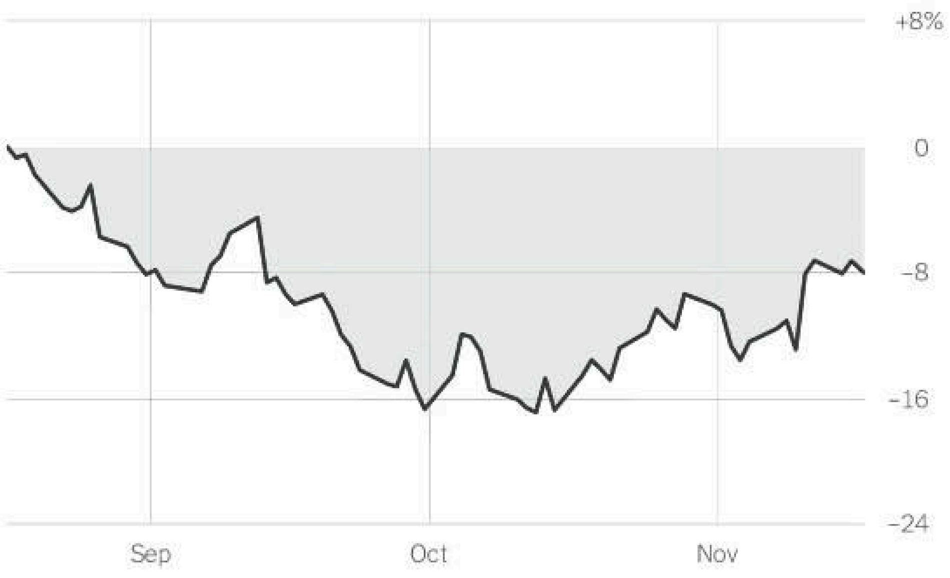


Source: Commerce Department THE NEW YORK TIMES

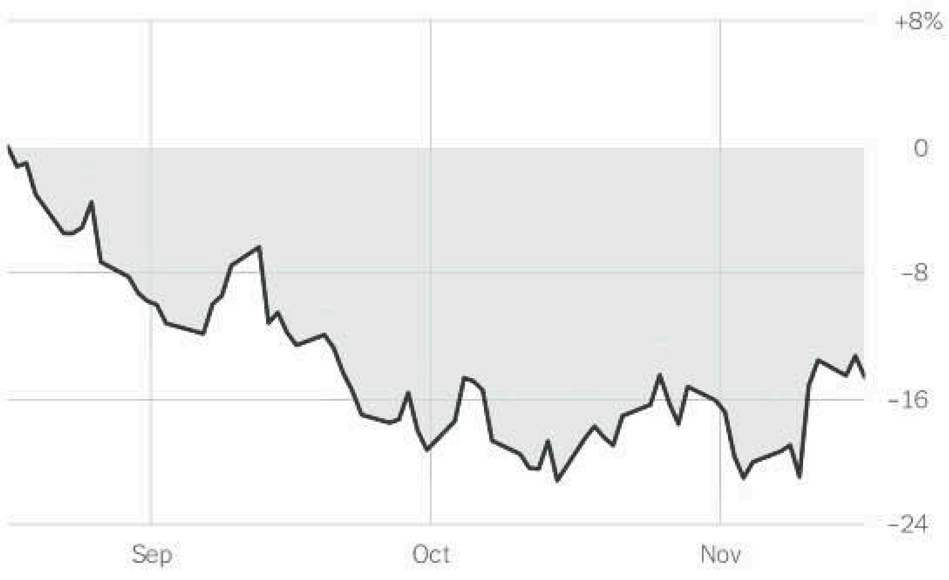
What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

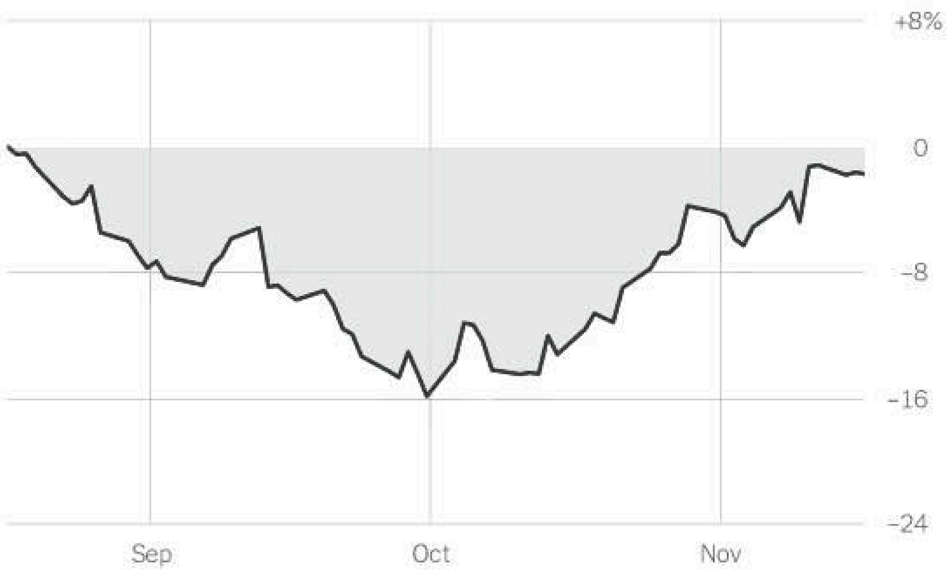
S&P 500 3,958.79 ↓ –0.8%
3 month performance: **–8.0%**



Nasdaq Composite Index 11,183.66 ↓ –1.5%
3 month performance: **–14.6%**



Dow Jones Industrials 33,553.83 ↓ –0.1%
3 month performance: **–1.8%**



Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. TJX COMPANIES (TJX)	$79.02	+5.2%
2. Campbell Soup (CPB)	$50.71	+3.9
3. W.R. Berkley (WRB)	$71.76	+3.8
4. Lincoln National (LNC)	$35.39	+3.6
5. Lowes Companies (LOW)	$215.13	+3.0
6. McKesson (MCK)	$363.20	+2.7
7. Hershey (HSY)	$223.15	+2.7
8. Discover Financial Svcs. (DFS)	$106.12	+2.4
9. Progressive (PGR)	$125.91	+2.3
10. J.M. Smucker (SJM)	$143.63	+2.2

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Advance Auto Parts (AAP)	$156.24	–15.1%
2. Carnival (CCL)	$9.63	–13.7
3. TARGET CORP (TGT)	$155.47	–13.1
4. Catalent (CTLT)	$44.67	–8.7
5. Best Buy (BBY)	$69.12	–8.6
6. Western Digital (WDC)	$36.42	–7.7
7. Bath & Body Works (BBWI)	$31.33	–7.6
8. Monolithic Power Systems (MPWR)	$375.38	–7.3
9. Lam Research (LRCX)	$455.38	–7.2
10. Signature Bank (SBNY)	$138.01	–6.7

Most active

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. Carnival (CCL)	$9.63	–13.7%	122
2. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$97.12	–1.8	87
3. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	$72.70	–4.8	79
4. Tesla (TSLA)	$186.92	–3.9	66
5. Apple (AAPL)	$148.79	–0.8	64
6. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$159.10	–4.5	60
7. Ford Motor (F)	$13.90	–2.8	47
8. TARGET CORP (TGT)	$155.47	–13.1	37
9. Intel Corp (INTC)	$29.53	–3.8	35
10. Meta Platforms A (META)	$113.23	–3.3	32

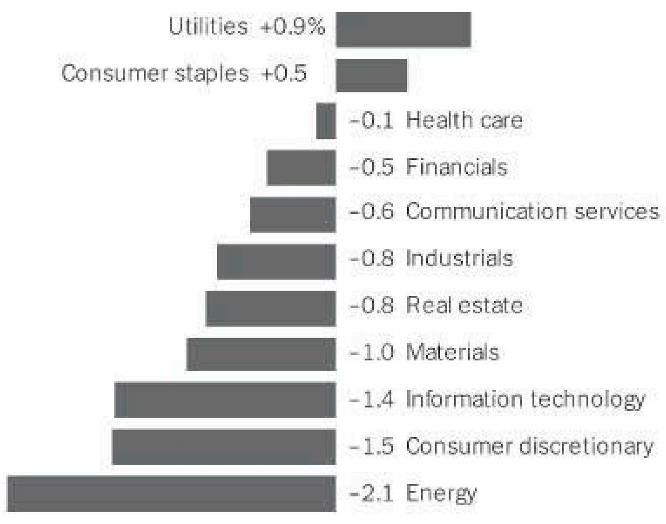
Large-cap stocks

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Total Stock Market Index Fund Institutional Select Shares (VSTSX)	–16.9%	+9.8%	1,154.3
2. Vanguard 500 Index Fund Admiral Shares (VFIAX)	–14.6	+10.4	747.5
3. Fidelity 500 Index Fund (FXAIX)	–14.6	+10.4	353.8
4. Vanguard Institutional Index Fund Institutional Shares (VINIX)	–14.6	+10.4	234.0
5. American Funds The Growth Fund of America Class 529-A (CGFAX)	–30.6	+8.3	201.0
6. Vanguard Value Index Fund Admiral Shares (VVIAX)	–1.0	+9.1	149.3
7. American Funds Washington Mutual Investors Fund Class R-2E (RWEBX)	–6.8	+9.0	148.2
8. Vanguard Growth Index Fund Admiral Shares (VIGAX)	–28.7	+11.2	136.7
9. American Funds Fundamental Investors Class C (AFICX)	–17.2	+6.4	104.1
10. American Funds Investment Company of America Class C (AICCX)	–16.4	+6.5	101.2

Source: Morningstar

Sector performance

S&P 500 SECTORS



How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...

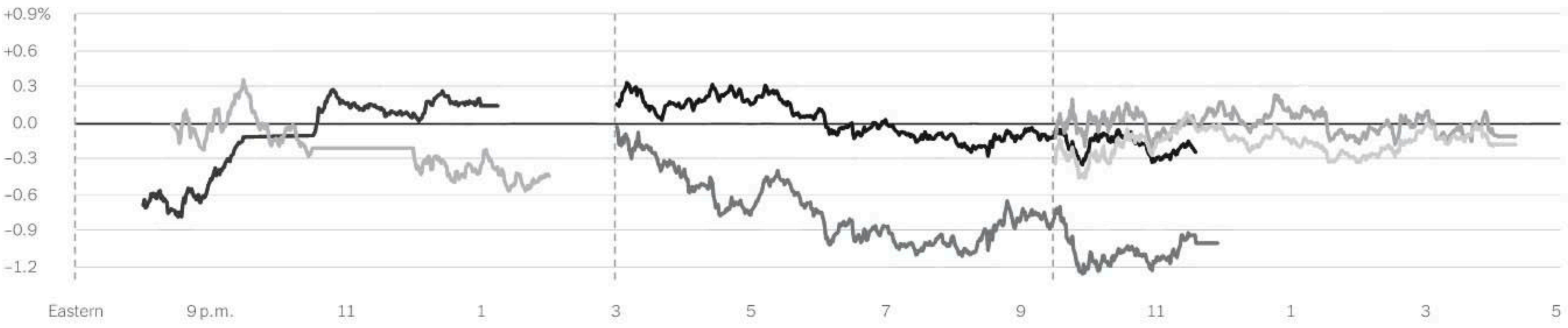
— Nikkei 225 (Japan): +0.1%
— Shanghai Composite (Shanghai): –0.4%

... in Europe

— FTSE 100 (London): –0.2%
— DAX (Frankfurt): –1.0%

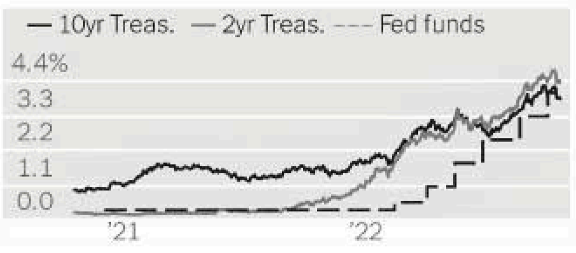
... and North America

— Dow Jones Industrials (New York): –0.1%
— S&P/TSX (Toronto): –0.2%



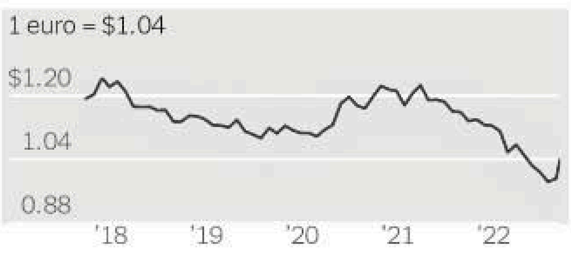
What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

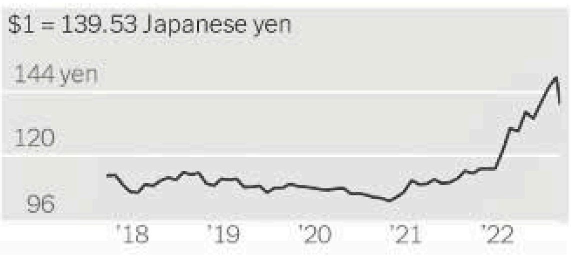
Bonds



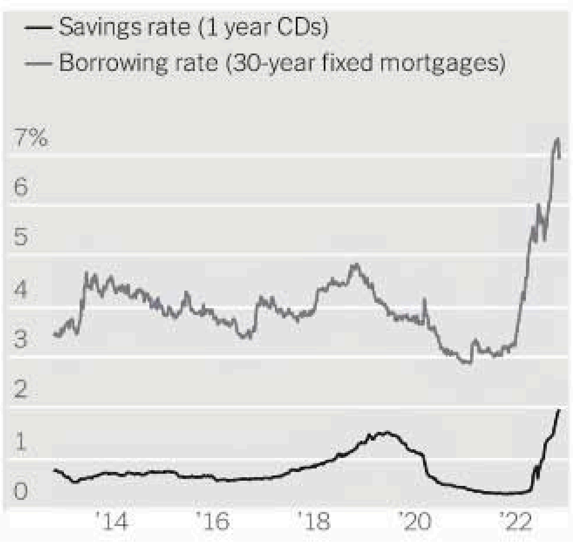


Currencies

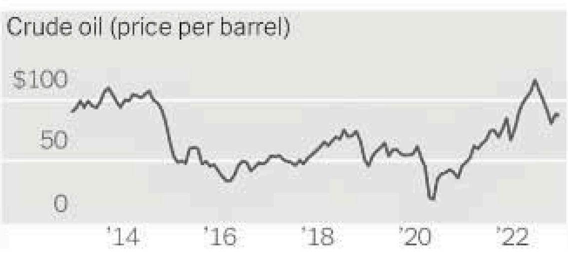




Consumer rates

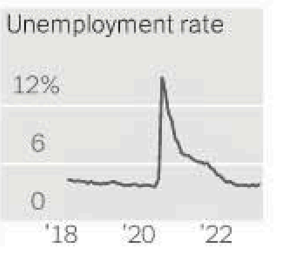


Commodities

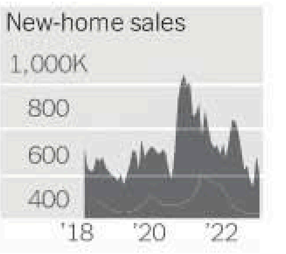


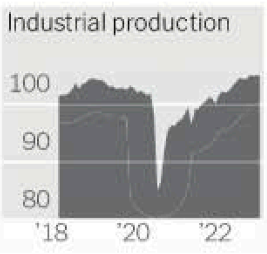


Economy



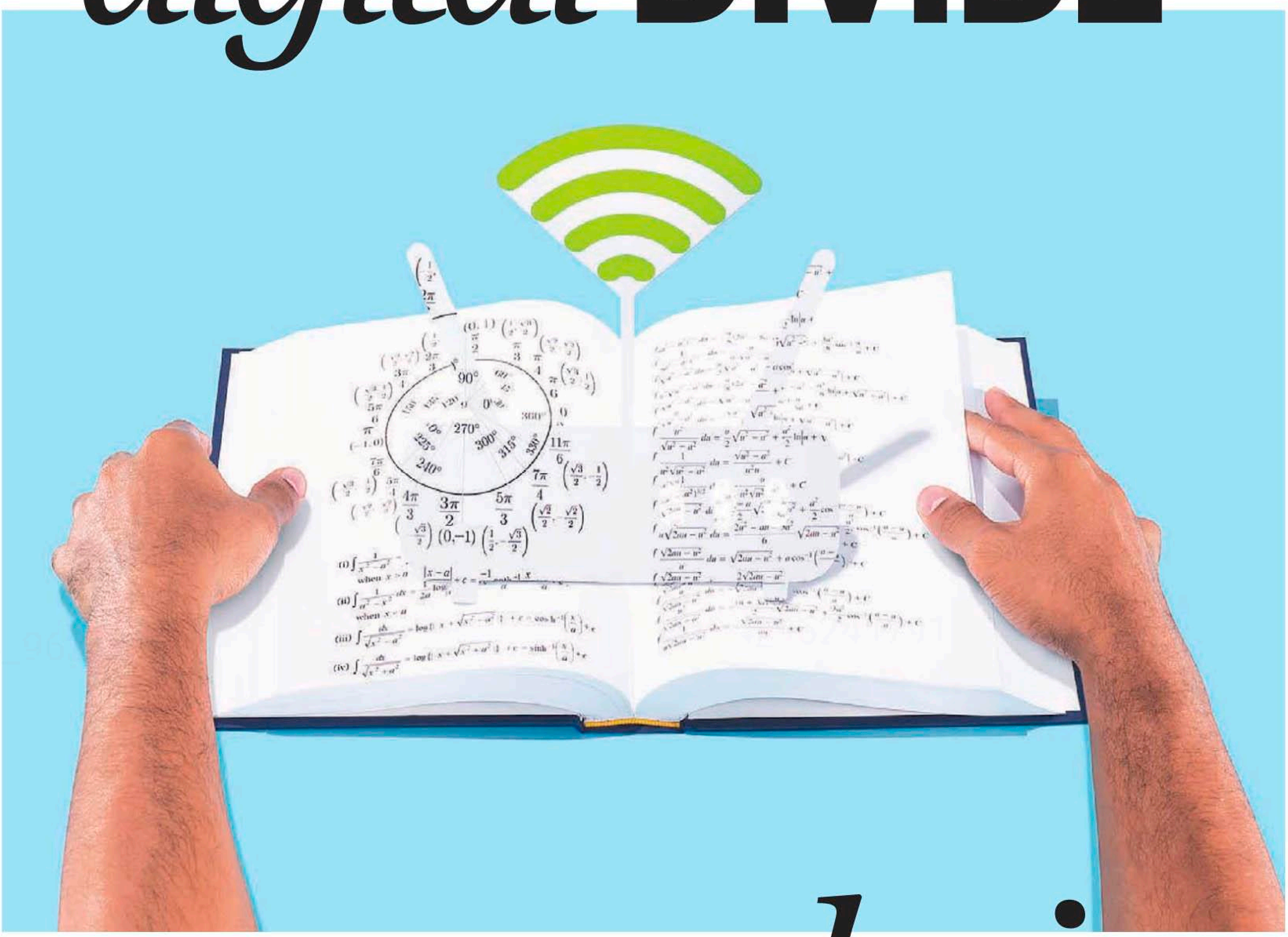






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Hollywood Horror Blockbuster: 2 Top Producers Will Join Forces

By BROOKS BARNES

Hollywood's leading horror movie producers, Jason Blum and James Wan, are in advanced talks to merge their companies, a move that would create a sprawling horror film factory and greatly bolster their studio partner, Universal Pictures.

"James is probably 70 to 80 percent artist and 30 to 20 percent business person, and I am the reverse," Mr. Blum said in an interview at Universal headquarters. Mr. Wan, the force behind "The Conjuring" and "Saw" franchises, added from Mr. Blum's side, "We really do complement each other, yin and yang, which is part of what makes this so exciting."

For the last 15 years, no producer of horror movies has been more successful than Mr. Blum. His company, Blumhouse Productions, which has a first-look deal with Universal, has generated about $5 billion in ticket sales, most recently with "The Black Phone" and "Halloween Ends." Blumhouse, which has about 80 employees, is working on a new "Exorcist" trilogy. Its next film, "M3GAN," about a singing, dancing, diabolical doll with artificial intelligence, arrives in theaters on Jan. 6.

Mr. Blum, however, wants Blumhouse to grow — a lot. He is pushing to make at least eight horror movies for release in theaters each year, up from the three or four it has historically delivered. And he wants to make another slate of horror flicks for Peacock, NBCUniversal's streaming service. Blumhouse also makes television series.

Horror has become one of only two genres that Hollywood views as fail-safe at the box office. (The other is the superhero film.) As patrons become choosier about what movies are worth a trip to the multiplex, dramas and comedies are almost uniformly struggling to sell tickets. Streaming services like Disney+ have dented demand for family-oriented films in theaters.

No film is a guaranteed ticket-seller, of course. Blumhouse's recent "Firestarter" remake crashed and burned at the box office. But horror movies benefit from a loyal, increasingly broad fan base and a communal setting: Scares are more fun in a theater with strangers. Horror movies are also relatively cheap to make, often with budgets of $20 million or less, resulting in colossal profits when they strike a chord.

Mr. Blum's primary challenge?

"I don't have one idea to turn into a horror movie," he said. "Not one. I built a business by recognizing great ideas from other people."

Enter Mr. Wan, whose first-look deal with Warner Bros. expired in June after seven years. His production company, Atomic Monster, which has nine employees, has been involved with horror films ("Lights Out," "The Nun," "Annabelle: Creation") that have taken in at least $3.5 billion at the box office over the years.

"I have so many ideas — so many ideas — more than I can handle by myself," Mr. Wan said, adding that he would like to expand into horror-related video games, podcasts, live events and perhaps merchandise.

Mr. Blum, 53, and Mr. Wan, 45, declined to discuss the contours of the proposed deal, except to say that Atomic Monster would become a creatively autonomous label inside of Blumhouse and have a first-look deal with Universal. They hope to close the deal during the first quarter of next year.

"It really allows me a bigger canvas to paint on," said Mr. Wan, who has a parallel career directing spectacles like "Aquaman" and "Furious 7." He added, "Universal is very supportive of filmmakers and brilliant at marketing. To have partners that trust you, that believe in you, that goes a long way." (Mr. Wan will continue to be involved with his Warner Bros. franchises. He is currently in postproduction on "Aquaman and the Lost Kingdom.")

Mr. Wan and Mr. Blum have known each other since 2007, when they teamed up to make "Insidious," about a haunted family. It was a blockbuster, leading to four sequels, the latest of which is set for theatrical release by Sony Pictures Entertainment on July 7.

It was actually Mr. Wan who got the ball rolling on "M3GAN." Atomic Monster first pitched the idea to Warner Bros. executives, who passed, in part because Warner already has the "Annabelle" evil doll series. Mr. Wan then brought the project to Mr. Blum, who pounced. Universal is so pleased with how "M3GAN" turned out that it is already talking about a "M3GAN" sequel. TikTok posts tagged #M3GAN have been viewed 300 million times since the trailer was released a month ago.

In recent months, Mr. Blum and Mr. Wan started talking about merging their companies, eventually bringing in Creative Artists Agency and the Universal executives Donna Langley and Jimmy Horowitz.

A person with knowledge of the proposed deal, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the conversations are private, said Mr. Wan would hold a substantial ownership stake in Blumhouse. Mr. Blum would still own the majority of the company, with NBCUniversal continuing as a third stakeholder.

Blumhouse's current distribution deal with Universal runs until summer 2024, at which point Mr. Blum will have various courses of action to consider: renew, pursue a sale, shop for a new distribution partner.

The addition of Mr. Wan to the Universal stable would expand a string of coups by Ms. Langley, the chairwoman of the Universal Filmed Entertainment Group. In recent years, she has lured a murderers' row of filmmakers to her studio, including Christopher Nolan, Phil Lord, Chris Miller, Jordan Peele and Daniels, the duo behind "Everything Everywhere All at Once."

Ms. Langley called a combined Blumhouse and Atomic Monster "powerful and exponential."

"James Wan and Jason Blum know how to create franchises and attract talent," Ms. Langley said by phone. "There is a great deal they could do across the NBCUniversal portfolio, including Peacock and theme parks."



COLEY BROWN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The films of horror producers Jason Blum, left, and James Wan have made billions at the box office over the years.



GEOFFREY SHORT/UNIVERSAL PICTURES



MICHAEL TACKETT/WARNER BROTHERS PICTURES

"M3GAN," top, by Blumhouse Productions, is set for release on Jan. 6. Above, Mr. Wan's "The Conjuring" has become an eight-film franchise.

Crisis Deepens in U.K. as Inflation Hits 11.1%, Driven by Energy Costs

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

of a whole year," Jake Finney, an economist at PwC, said in a note.

So-called core inflation — the annual rate excluding volatile elements like energy and food — remained the same in October as in the previous month, at 6.5 percent.

But Britain's overall rate again surpassed the eurozone's 10.7 percent rate, fueling the worst cost-of-living crisis in four decades as households and businesses grapple with the prospect of a drawn-out recession. The British economy shrank 0.2 percent between July and September compared with the previous three months, and central bankers have warned of a "prolonged" downturn lasting up to two years.

Continued cost increases are of particular concern to businesses, including thousands of small companies that make up the backbone of the British economy. "Far from peaking, inflation continues to rise," the British Chambers of Commerce said in a statement. "We speak to thousands of businesses who tell us this is unsustainable."

A broader recession is expected to spread to the continent by the end of the year, with countries from France to Finland facing a double blow of rising inflation and slowing or declining growth. Russia's war in Ukraine, and retaliatory sanctions against Russia by European countries, have caused global fuel, food and fertilizer prices to soar.

Wages in Britain increased 5.7 percent in the third quarter, their fastest pace in 20 years, as people re-entered the work force after the end of Britain's pandemic lockdowns. But inflation is outstripping those gains, leaving households struggling to keep up.

And some of the employment gains mask an underlying precariousness, with many people re-entering the labor market as self-employed workers. When adjusted for rising prices, wages overall fell 2.7 percent in September.

'This is unsustainable.'

The British Chambers of Commerce, in a statement on the latest inflation data.

2%

The Bank of England's target annual rate of inflation.

To bring inflation down, the Bank of England is trying to curb economic growth with a series of interest rate increases. The central bank raised interest rates this month by three-quarters of a point to 3 percent, the highest since 2008. Analysts at ING said the bank was likely to raise rates by another half-point in December.

But the moves have put further financial pressure on homeowners already worried about rising costs, because they keep mortgage rates high and will have the effect of cooling an economy that is already slowing down. The cost of housing and household services in October jumped more than 26 percent from a year earlier.

The rise in energy costs could have been even worse. An increase in energy bills on Oct. 1, part of a reset by the country's energy regulator to reflect market prices, had been expected to raise energy costs nearly 75 percent, the statistics office said. Outcry over that jump led to a government program to freeze rates, resulting in a 25 percent increase instead. That program, originally planned to run for two years for homeowners, is now set to end on April 1.

Inflation should start to come down slowly next year as energy costs peak, Pantheon Macroeconomics, a research firm, said in a note to clients. But overall living and business costs will remain "extremely dependent on the government's approach to subsidizing energy prices," the firm said.

The governor of the Bank of England, Andrew Bailey, told members of Parliament on Wednesday that he expected inflation to slow next year.

"Once we get through this winter," he said, "there should be quite a pronounced fall in inflation thereafter, and our forecast brings it to back to target," referring to the bank's target rate of 2 percent inflation.

Britain's economy is also suffering from a series of self-inflicted wounds by the governing Conservative Party. The prime minister, Rishi Sunak, has made it clear that he intends to take a tougher approach to public finances after a period of turmoil under the preceding leader, Liz Truss, who pushed economic policies during a short-lived tenure that threw Britain into financial turmoil.

On Thursday, Mr. Sunak and the chancellor of the Exchequer, Jeremy Hunt, are expected to announce tax increases and spending cuts alongside a plan to cut Britain's debt.

The statement is expected to detail spending and tax policies in line with lowering Britain's debt burden. It will be accompanied by forecasts from the Office for Budget Responsibility, an independent government watchdog that will assess the impact of the government's policies on the economy and public finances.

NOTICE OF SALE

SUPREME COURT COUNTY OF NEW YORK, NYCTL 1998-2 TRUST, AND THE BANK OF NEW YORK MELLON AS COLLATERAL AGENT AND CUSTODIAN FOR THE NYCTL 1998-2 TRUST, Plaintiff, vs. LL STORAGE LLC, ET AL., Defendant(s).

Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale dated June 17, 2022 and duly entered on July 1, 2022, I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction at the portico of the New York County Courthouse, 60 Centre Street, New York, NY on December 7, 2022 at 2:15 pm, premises known as 460 East 79th Street - Storage Unit 12C, New York, NY 10075. All that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements thereon erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Manhattan, County of New York, City and State of New York, Block 1473 and Lot 1302. Approximate amount of judgment is $309,235.28 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed Judgment Index #159273/2020. COVID-19 safety protocols will be followed at the foreclosure sale.

Bruce Lederman, Esq., Referee

Bronster, LLP, 156 West 56th Street, Suite 902, New York, New York 10019, Attorneys for Plaintiff

Shoppers Are Still Spending, but Looking for Deals

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

throughout the month. After last year's holiday season, which featured few traditional doorbuster sales, many shoppers, it now seems, are looking for discounts before they buy.

"Broadly speaking, retailers could price products wherever they wanted to over the last two years and consumers would buy them," said Mike Graziano, a senior analyst of consumer products at RSM US, an audit, tax and consulting firm. "Now consumers are looking for deals like they do over the holiday, and consumers are taking advantage of that, and October was a clear example of that."

Holiday promotions were a significant driver of October retail sales, he said. Categories like online spending, furniture, and health and personal care all saw an increase in demand in October compared with September. Spending at clothing and sporting goods stores remained flat or declined, which could mean people are waiting until later in the season to make those purchases.

Target is an example of the importance discounts have played. The company initially saw a rise in sales in early October, coinciding with a round of holiday promotions. But demand tapered off when those deals went away, and October ended up its weakest month in the third quarter, the company said, after it reported earnings on Wednesday.

"Nearly all of the slowdown was driven by our discretionary categories — apparel, home and hard lines — as our guests became increasingly cautious in their spending in those categories at Target and the industry more broadly," Michael Fiddelke, the company's chief financial officer, said on a call with analysts.

Executives are expecting more of the same going forward.

The National Retail Federation said this month that it expected holiday sales from November to December to increase 6 to 8 percent, which is below the pace of inflation. With Black Friday now a little over a week away, it is imperative for companies to adjust to changes in shopper behavior.

This period is crucial, particularly for department stores and specialty apparel chains, which spend much of their energy preparing for the large number of sales they handle at the end of each year. On Thursday, Macy's and Kohl's will report earnings, which will give a glimpse into the department store chains' relative financial health.

Throughout much of the pandemic, when shoppers were spending freely and supply chain snarls were front of mind for retailers, discounts were offered infrequently. Last year, consumers had more money saved up and were spending it on refreshing their closets and upgrading their electronics after a year of being stuck at home.

The spending sprees ended this year, largely because of worries around inflation. And with shoppers being more discerning about how they spend, many retail executives have said they expect a return this year to the usual kind of holiday deals that were absent from many stores last year.

"Last year was just an unbelievable year for any retailer, but especially apparel," said Zachary Warring, an equity analyst at CFRA. "Coming off of that, it's going to be a tough quarter."

Public perception will also play a role. Retailers that are associated with value and good prices or that already have a frequent and loyal shopper base will probably fare well in the coming months, Mr. Warring said. For those not perceived that way, the holiday season could be bumpier.

For instance, Walmart, which has long performed well with lower-income shoppers, said on Tuesday, when announcing its robust third-quarter earnings, that people who earn more than $100,000 were increasingly shopping with them.

This comes at a time when Americans at various income levels are looking for ways to save money, especially as trips to the grocery store and gas pump take a larger bite out of their wallet.

This could make days like Black Friday and those leading up to Christmas Day — known for having deeper discounts — even more relevant for shoppers.

"You could see this concentration of sales when you have these big pushes around promotions," said Michelle Meyer, chief economist at Mastercard. "It's like a fits and starts of spending in the holiday season based off of promotions."

It's a pattern retailers will have to be mindful of as they navigate the next few months.

"We're going to watch it carefully throughout the holiday season," Brian Cornell, Target's chief executive, said on a call with analysts. "I do think it is a byproduct of a consumer who has been facing higher costs throughout the year and is working with their budget, shopping very carefully, looking for value and recognizing that they've got to start with core staples before they spend in discretionary categories."



AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Retail sales in the U.S. rose a higher-than-expected 1.3 percent in October.

SOCIAL MEDIA



KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Elon Musk arriving at court in Wilmington, Del., on Wednesday to testify in a shareholder suit questioning how Tesla's board determined his 2018 compensation.

In Testimony, Musk Defends Tesla Compensation

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
goals. At the time, the deal was one of the largest of its kind, and it has become a template used by many other corporate boards to reward chief executives.

In court documents, lawyers for the shareholder who brought the case, Richard Tornetta, contend that in April 2017 Mr. Musk started to outline the pay deal with a director, Ira Ehrenpreis, who headed the board's compensation committee. The plaintiff's lawyers have also said in court filings that Tesla directors and executives said in depositions that the board did not expect Mr. Musk to leave the company and had not begun to identify potential successors to him.

On the witness stand, Mr. Musk also seemed to rebut a claim in the lawsuit that the shares he already owned in Tesla — about 22 percent of the company — were incentive enough. Amid an existential struggle to ramp up manufacturing of the company's first mass-market car, the Model 3, he said he was considering leaving Tesla.

"We were at an inflection point where we had to decide whether I would run the company or someone else would run the company," Mr. Musk said. "I did not want to be C.E.O."

Antonio Gracias, who was on Tesla's board until last year, testified later on Wednesday that the board had considered finding someone else to take on the chief executive role so that Mr. Musk could focus on the company's products. The board, he added, never found a suitable candidate.

"We needed him all the way in, all the time," said Mr. Gracias, who is also on the board of SpaceX, where Mr. Musk is also chief executive.

In response to questioning on the stand, Mr. Gracias said that he had been friends with Mr. Musk for more than 20 years and that their families had been on vacations together.

Lawyers for Mr. Musk and Tesla directors filed a motion to dismiss the suit, but in 2019, another Delaware judge allowed most of the case to proceed.

The case is being heard by Chancellor Kathaleen McCormick of the Delaware Court of Chancery. She also presided over the short-lived lawsuit Twitter filed in July against Mr. Musk to force him to go through with the acquisition of the social media company after he sought to back out of the deal. Mr. Musk completed the deal last month.

More than a year after the 2018 Tesla pay deal was put in place, the company's stock started climbing sharply, going from about $21 to a peak of about $410 last November. It has since fallen more than 50 percent and trades around $187.

In addition to defending himself, Mr. Musk used his time on the witness stand to hit some of his favorite talking points, including how Tesla single-handedly created the electric car business and why he loathes the Securities and Exchange Commission and investors who bet against the share prices of Tesla.

"Tesla has had an immense effect on the world," Mr. Musk said in response to a question from a lawyer representing Tesla, Evan Chesler, that appeared designed to show that he had earned his pay. "Not just that Tesla is making electric vehicles — we have been really the main reason why the rest of the car industry has moved toward sustainable, electric vehicles."

Under questioning by Gregory Varallo, a lawyer representing shareholders, that seemed designed to show that Mr. Musk did not always heed authority, Mr. Musk lashed out at the S.E.C. The commission accused him of securities fraud for claiming in August 2018 that he had "funding secured" to take Tesla private. To settle that case, Mr. Musk stepped down as chairman of Tesla, paid a fine and agreed to have a lawyer vet some of his social media posts about Tesla. In April, a federal judge refused a request by Mr. Musk to end his agreement with the S.E.C.

$50B

The value of Tesla shares that were made available to Elon Musk in his 2018 package.

'We have been really the main reason why the rest of the car industry has moved toward sustainable, electric vehicles.'

Elon Musk, on Tesla's impact.

Mr. Varallo asked a series of questions designed to show that Mr. Musk acts with little oversight from the Tesla board by, for example, deploying the car company's engineers to help him at Twitter.

"Did someone ever suggest to you that it might not be a good idea to use the resources of a public company for a private company?" Mr. Varallo said.

Mr. Musk replied that the engineers came voluntarily and did the work on their own time. "It was very short term," he said. "It lasted for a few days, and then it was over."

Mr. Varallo then asked: "Did any of these so-called independent directors call you and say it might not be a good idea?"

"I don't believe I received a call," Mr. Musk responded.

James Murdoch, the media executive who has been on Tesla's board since 2017, testified later on Wednesday that the board's audit committee was aware that Mr. Musk had asked Tesla engineers to do volunteer work at Twitter and was monitoring the situation. Mr. Murdoch added that he believed most of the work Tesla engineers were doing at Twitter had been finished.

"Shareholders have been rewarded, frankly, in a historic fashion," Mr. Murdoch said about Mr. Musk's leadership of Tesla.

Under questioning, Mr. Murdoch acknowledged socializing with Mr. Musk, saying their families had spent time together on trips to Jerusalem and Mexico.

In his own testimony, Mr. Musk at times spoke quietly and briefly by giving one-word answers to some questions. On other topics, he spoke at length.

At one point relatively early in his testimony, Chancellor McCormick expressed frustration with Mr. Musk's digressions, saying: "I'm going to interrupt Mr. Musk, because we can all listen to this all day. It's very interesting, but I don't think it was responsive to the question, which I've now forgotten."

Mr. Musk's testimony ended around noon. The trial is slated to wrap up at the end of the week. Chancellor McCormick is expected to rule on the case later, possibly in a few months.

Musk's Ultimatum: Buy In or Get Out

By KATE CONGER

SAN FRANCISCO — Elon Musk gave Twitter employees a deadline of 5 p.m. Eastern on Thursday to decide if they wanted to work for him, and he asked those who did not share his vision to leave their jobs, in his latest shock treatment of the social media company.

Mr. Musk made the announcement in an early-morning email to employees on Wednesday. The New York Times obtained the message, which had the subject line "A Fork in the Road."

In the note, Mr. Musk, 51, reiterated that Twitter faced a difficult road ahead and offered employees three months of severance if they did not want to continue working there "to build a breakthrough Twitter 2.0."

The billionaire has been unrelenting in rapidly transforming Twitter since completing his $44 billion acquisition of the company nearly three weeks ago. Mr. Musk swiftly slashed half of Twitter's 7,500-person work force, dismissed thousands of contractors, fired employees who had criticized him and trimmed infrastructure costs. He has also proclaimed that Twitter needs to make more money or it faces bankruptcy. And he has pushed on subscription products and alternately wooing and insulting Twitter's advertisers.

Giving remaining employees a deadline to leave has the dual effect of allowing Mr. Musk to further cut costs and purge the company of disgruntled workers. Mr. Musk has brought in a circle of confidants and employees from some of his other companies, such as the electric carmaker Tesla, to advise him at Twitter.

Mr. Musk and Twitter did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

In his note to Twitter employees on Wednesday, Mr. Musk said they would need to work hard — very hard. "In an increasingly competitive world, we will need to be extremely hard core," he wrote. "This will mean working long hours at high intensity. Only exceptional performance will constitute a passing grade."

Engineering will be the primary focus, Mr. Musk added, with design and product management taking a back seat. He included a link to an online form asking employees to confirm their interest in working at Twitter.

Many Twitter employees have openly balked at Mr. Musk's leadership, and the company's work force could be further reduced if many workers accept the offer to leave. On Tuesday, Mr. Musk fired nearly two dozen workers who had been critical of his leadership in posts on Twitter or on the company's internal messaging service, Slack.

Departing staff members have questioned whether Mr. Musk can keep Twitter operating effectively with a drastically reduced work force. During the mass layoffs this month, Mr. Musk's team made deep cuts to the group that maintained Twitter's core infrastructure. Top executives overseeing product, security and ad sales have resigned. And the reductions of the contract work force included the dismissals of people working on content moderation and child safety issues.

Twitter could face a test of how well it runs as soon as next week, when the World Cup is expected to bring a flood of visitors to its service. The additional strain on infrastructure could cause problems.

Features that are priorities to Mr. Musk have also been delayed. As advertisers have shied away from his leadership, he has focused on adding new revenue from subscriptions through products such as Twitter Blue, which would include selling verification check marks for $8 a month. The paid verification feature debuted this month, but was paused after impersonators used it to mimic major brands and spread misinformation.

On Tuesday, Mr. Musk said in a tweet that Twitter Blue's debut would be delayed until Nov. 29 to make sure that it was "rock solid."

On Wednesday, Mr. Musk appeared in a Delaware court to testify in a case over his compensation as chief executive of Tesla. After being asked about his commitments to Twitter and claims that he was sleeping at the company's office, he said he did not expect to commit as much time to the social media company in the future.

The "restructuring" at Twitter would be done by the end of the week, he testified.

Ryan Mac contributed reporting.



JASON HENRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Elon Musk gave Twitter employees a deadline of 5 p.m. Eastern on Thursday to decide whether they would help him "build a breakthrough Twitter 2.0."

Tech Consumers Can Learn Valuable Lessons From the Turmoil at Twitter

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
said Zizi Papacharissi, a professor of communication at the University of Illinois-Chicago. "Here, the problem is, what is the other?"

Yet there is a silver lining. This tumultuous situation with Twitter, according to social media consultants and security experts I interviewed, can serve as a template with valuable lessons for everyone, including casual tweeters and celebrities, on how to safely navigate any social network.

The first lesson is to always have an exit strategy — a plan for what to do with your data and contacts — in case things go awry. Lesson 2 is to avoid overinvesting time and energy on any one social media site; hedge your bets by posting on multiple platforms that serve your needs.

And, finally, remember that there was life before any of these social media apps, including Twitter. That will make it easier to forge a path forward.

Let's unpack how to do all of that.

Plan an Exit Strategy

With any tech service, I always advise having a plan for pulling out your data, including your old photos and musings, in case something changes that makes you unhappy.

For Twitter, follow the steps listed on its site to download a copy of your account data. You could then take actions like deleting sensitive information, like direct messages. Bear in mind that if you delete a direct message, it will disappear only on your end; the other people in the conversation also need to delete it. Once all parties involved have deleted the conversation, Twitter is expected to purge it from its servers within about 10 days, according to a person familiar with the product, who asked not to be named for fear of retribution. Mr. Musk did not respond to a request for comment on whether he would continue that policy.



JOEL SAGET/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

It's important to have a diversified social media presence and a plan to get out.

Twitter, which laid off its public relations team, did not respond to a request for comment.

Your Twitter timeline is simpler to manage. Tools like Semiphemeral automate the process of purging all your tweets from a specific period, such as those that are older than 30 days.

Whatever you do, though, resist deactivating your Twitter account, several security experts said. In the past, Twitter gave public figures a blue check mark once they had shown the company proof of their identities. But the new system allows anyone to pay $8 a month to get a check mark, making impersonation easier.

Influential people like politicians and celebrities are most likely to be impersonated, but this could also be harmful for anyone who uses Twitter to follow friends and family members. Imagine a scenario in which an impostor creates an account with your name and persuades a relative to wire you some money in an emergency, said Casey Ellis, the chief technology officer of the security firm Bugcrowd. This is more likely to be a problem if you have deleted your real account.

"It's a cheap attack that could affect anyone," Mr. Ellis said.

Another part of an exit strategy should be a plan to bring your followers along. You can advertise where else you reside on social media on your Twitter bio, for example, or even write a post about it.

Anil Dash, a tech entrepreneur, listed his Mastodon username on his Twitter profile and said he had used a web tool, Fedifinder, to search for his Twitter contacts on Mastodon. He now has about 11,300 Mastodon followers, a small chunk of his half a million followers on Twitter.

Spread Your Bets

Another way to not be too invested in one site like Twitter is to have an active presence on multiple platforms.

Joseph Rothstein, the chief executive of the digital marketing agency Social Media 55, said to search for overlap between platforms to make it efficient to cross-post on multiple networks.

For example, TikTok creators could easily post their video content on Instagram's Reels, a TikTok clone. They could also repurpose some of their content on YouTube. Those who like design or home renovation photos might enjoy both Pinterest and Instagram. People who regularly write about their field of work on Twitter, which is text-focused, could consider cross-posting on LinkedIn, the professional networking site owned by Microsoft, or on Mastodon.

Whatever you post about, make sure to use multiple platforms if you care about sustaining a strong social media presence, Mr. Rothstein said.

Then if you need to make a shift, he said, "it's not switching over to something else more than it is turning the intensity on some of the other platforms."

Learn to Let Go

If you ultimately decide you want to leave Twitter, you can make your exit by following the steps to deactivate your account, which is done through your account settings.

Being OK with letting go is a valuable lesson that we can apply to any of the social networks, which are all in flux. Ms. Papacharissi, the communications professor, said it was important to remember that if people left Twitter, that was Twitter's problem.

"Unless you have people who are sharing meaningful information, then you have nothing," she said.

As long as we have a solid exit strategy and a diversified social media presence, users of these platforms don't need any one company.

As for me, I recently invited my Twitter followers to follow my posts on LinkedIn. I also created a Mastodon account (mstdn.social/@bxchen), where I plan to start posting soon.

Ryan Mac contributed reporting.

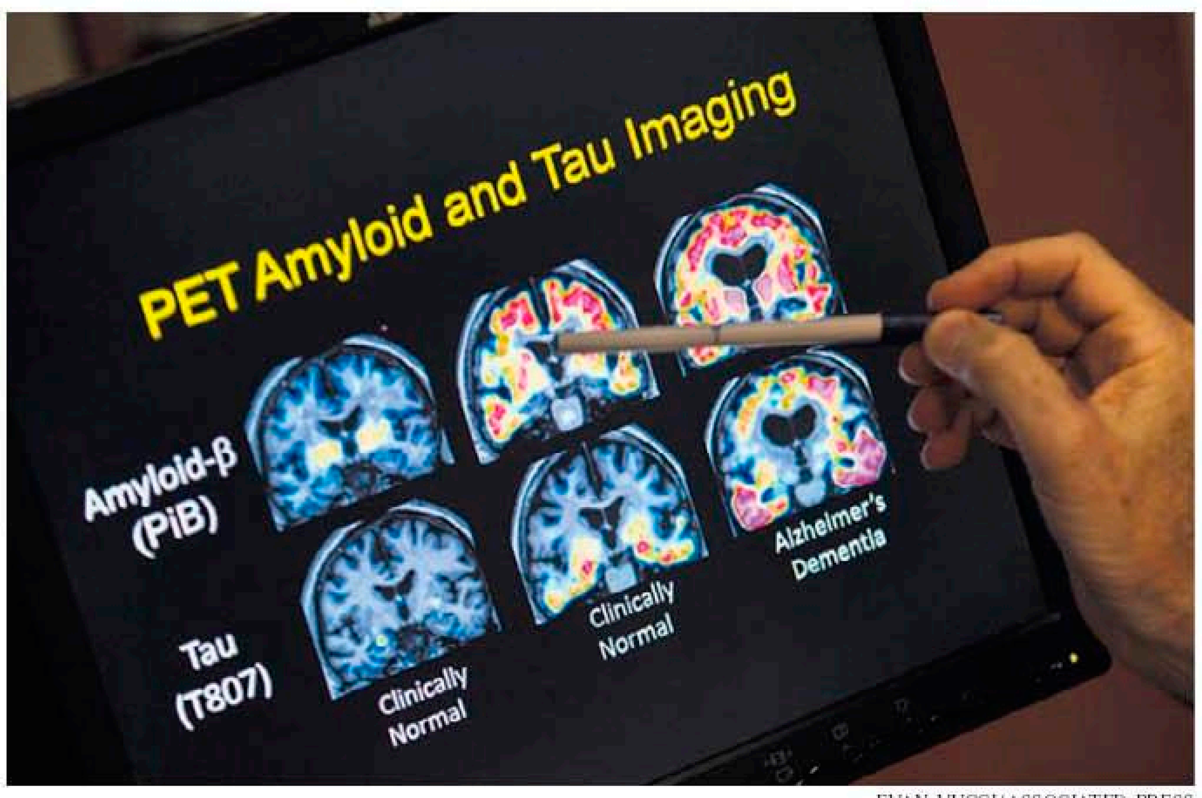
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FOOTBALL



EVAN VUCCI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

PET scans may help develop tests to diagnose C.T.E. before death.

A Test for C.T.E. In Living Patients Could Be in Reach

Recent Breakthroughs May Help Current Players Assess Their Risks

By KEN BELSON

SHICKLEY, Neb. — Chris Eitzmann seemed to excel at everything until he didn't.

He parlayed a Harvard football captaincy into an invitation in 2000 to the Patriots' training camp. After bouncing around the N.F.L., Eitzmann retired from pro football in 2002, got an M.B.A. from Dartmouth and worked at several big financial firms in Boston, where he and his wife, Mikaela, had four children.

By 2015, however, Chris began a descent that has become familiar to former football players afflicted with C.T.E., or chronic traumatic encephalopathy, the degenerative brain disease associated with repeated blows to the head.

Chris had loved mountain biking, running and lifting weights, but he quit exercising and drank to excess. After a move to Mikaela's family farm back in their home state of Nebraska two years later, Chris's behavior became more alarming. He would disappear for long stretches of the day and neglect his work. His drinking got worse, and she said he would sometimes drive drunk.

In December 2021, Chris Eitzmann was found dead in his Boston apartment of alcohol poisoning at 44. Almost a year later, doctors at Boston University found that he had C.T.E., a disease that can still only be diagnosed posthumously. Mikaela said that knowing whether her husband had the disease while he was alive would have markedly changed the final years of his life.

"If he had known that it really was something, and not just this endless vacuum of not knowing, if he had an idea that he could have grabbed on to, that clarity and understanding would have been so valuable," she said.

Without treatment options, a C.T.E. diagnosis could provide only clarity for former players such as Eitzmann who have reason to believe they may be affected. But it could eventually help current players make risk assessments about when to give up tackle football and help former players seek treatment.

Researchers are hoping that a series of recent breakthroughs will help speed up the development of a test for C.T.E. in the living.

Currently, the only way to accurately diagnose C.T.E. is to stain brain samples and examine them under microscopes to look for the presence of the specific tau proteins associated with C.T.E.

But if ongoing studies pan out, there could be a test for C.T.E. in the living in as few as two years, according to one leading researcher. The future of testing for C.T.E. hinges on developing ways of identifying the protein without requiring brain samples. So, scientists in multiple research institutes worldwide are working to identify biomarkers for the disease that can be seen in samples of blood, saliva or spinal fluid, or by using brain imaging scans.

Additionally, Alzheimer's diagnostics have advanced to the point at which blood tests are now on the market, and companies that have developed those tests are now looking to create a similar blood test for C.T.E.

The most comprehensive effort to develop a test for C.T.E. in the living began in 2015, when the U.S. National Institutes of Health awarded a $17 million, seven-year grant to the DIAGNOSE C.T.E. Research Project.

As part of the wide-ranging project, doctors from the N.I.H. are tracking 120 former N.F.L. players, 60 former college players and 60 people with no history of repetitive head impacts to see if they show symptoms of C.T.E. Beginning in 2016, participants underwent a three-day examination that included neuropsychological and neurological assessments and were asked to detail their histories of brain trauma, lifestyle and other health factors, such as genetics, in a comprehensive look at their health.

The participants are undergoing follow-up exams remotely to see if they demonstrate any C.T.E. symptoms or if those symptoms have progressed, and researchers hope that changes in their tests — which include spinal taps, blood analysis and neuroimaging scans — will help them identify biomarkers for C.T.E. The multidisciplinary group of 50 researchers from nearly a dozen institutions globally are already publishing some of the findings from the three-day exams.

"I now feel we are much closer to having fluid biomarkers, and in particular blood-based biomarkers, that will play an important role in diagnosing C.T.E. in life," said Robert Stern of Boston University, the lead investigator for the project.

The long search to identify C.T.E. biomarkers reached a watershed moment in 2019, when a group identified that the tau proteins specific to C.T.E. were distinct from those in Alzheimer's disease and other tau-based neurodegenerative diseases.

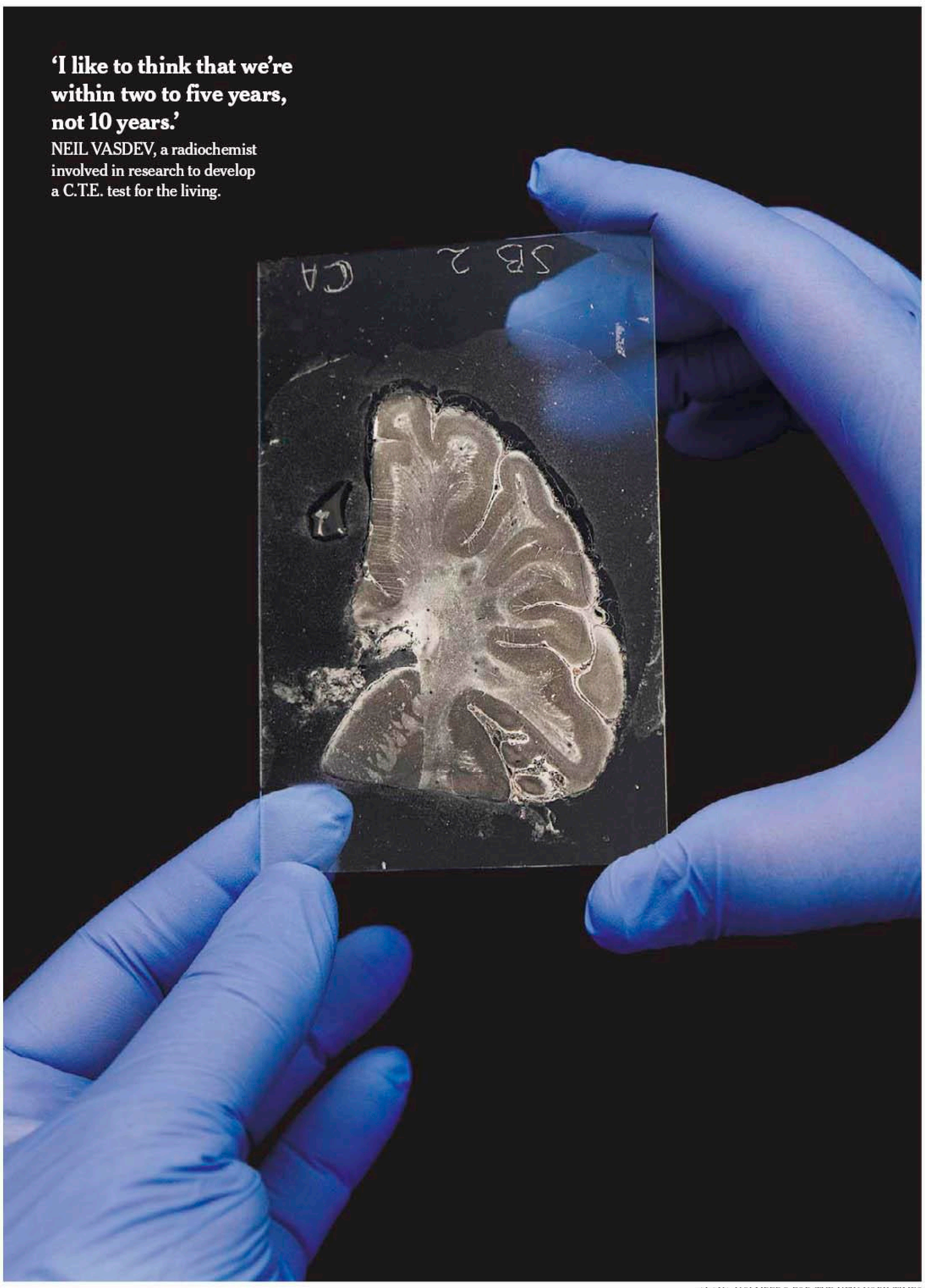
Led by Michel Goedert, program leader at the Laboratory of Molecular Biology at the Medical Research Council in Cambridge, England, the group published the findings of their study, which showed that the abnormal filaments, or threads inside of cells, were observable, giving hope that their presence could be tested for via PET scans.

Positron emission tomography, or PET, scans are tests that use a radioactive compound, or radio tracer, that is injected into patients to create images of biochemical processes in the brain and other parts of the body.

Researchers have been developing radio tracers for use in studies of football players and others with head trauma to see if those tracers bind to the tau protein associated with C.T.E. and inflammation in the brain.

"We are getting very close to advancing new radio tracers in humans to image the tau that is more prevalent in C.T.E.," said Neil Vasdev, a radiochemist at the University of Toronto who is developing several promising radio tracers that focus on identifying the C.T.E. tau protein. "I like to think that we're within two to five years, not 10 years" of developing a test for C.T.E. in the living.

'I like to think that we're within two to five years, not 10 years.'
NEIL VASDEV, a radiochemist involved in research to develop a C.T.E. test for the living.

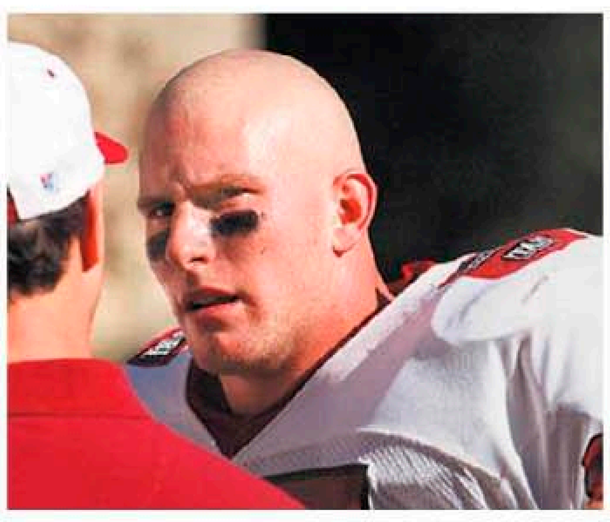


ALANA HOLMBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chronic traumatic encephalopathy can still be diagnosed only posthumously, by examining brain samples. Mikaela Eitzmann, below, at home in Shickley, Neb. Her husband, Chris, who died at age 44, was found to have C.T.E.



CALLA KESSLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MARK WILSON/BOSTON GLOBE

Chris Eitzmann in 1999 with a coach at Harvard, where he was a tight end and a captain of the football team.

Doctors leading C.T.E. research have for years said that a diagnostic test for the living was five to 10 years away. The expectation that the finish line is moving up marks a significant change in forecast for research that is complicated by a relatively small sample size of study participants and the need for long-range studies. But identifying tracers that can be seen on PET scans could lead to diagnosing C.T.E. before its symptoms are apparent.

"In principle, this should make it possible to seek to diagnose these deposits at an early stage," Goedert said. "You have to be able to identify people who have some of these deposits in their brains before they have symptoms."

Still, doctors like Gil Rabinovici at the University of California, San Francisco, have hit stumbling blocks to employing tracer technology. Rabinovici's work examines how one tracer, MK-6240, attaches to C.T.E. tau in the brain of several dozen former N.F.L. players. The signal from those radio tracers thus far has been weak.

"It is quite difficult because you don't know if they have C.T.E. in life, and if you use the scan, you can't immediately say 'aha' and have a level of truth in the scan," he said.

The good news, Rabinovici said, is that the tau proteins in Alzheimer's and C.T.E. have more similarities than differences, so researchers can use some of the same techniques for tests.

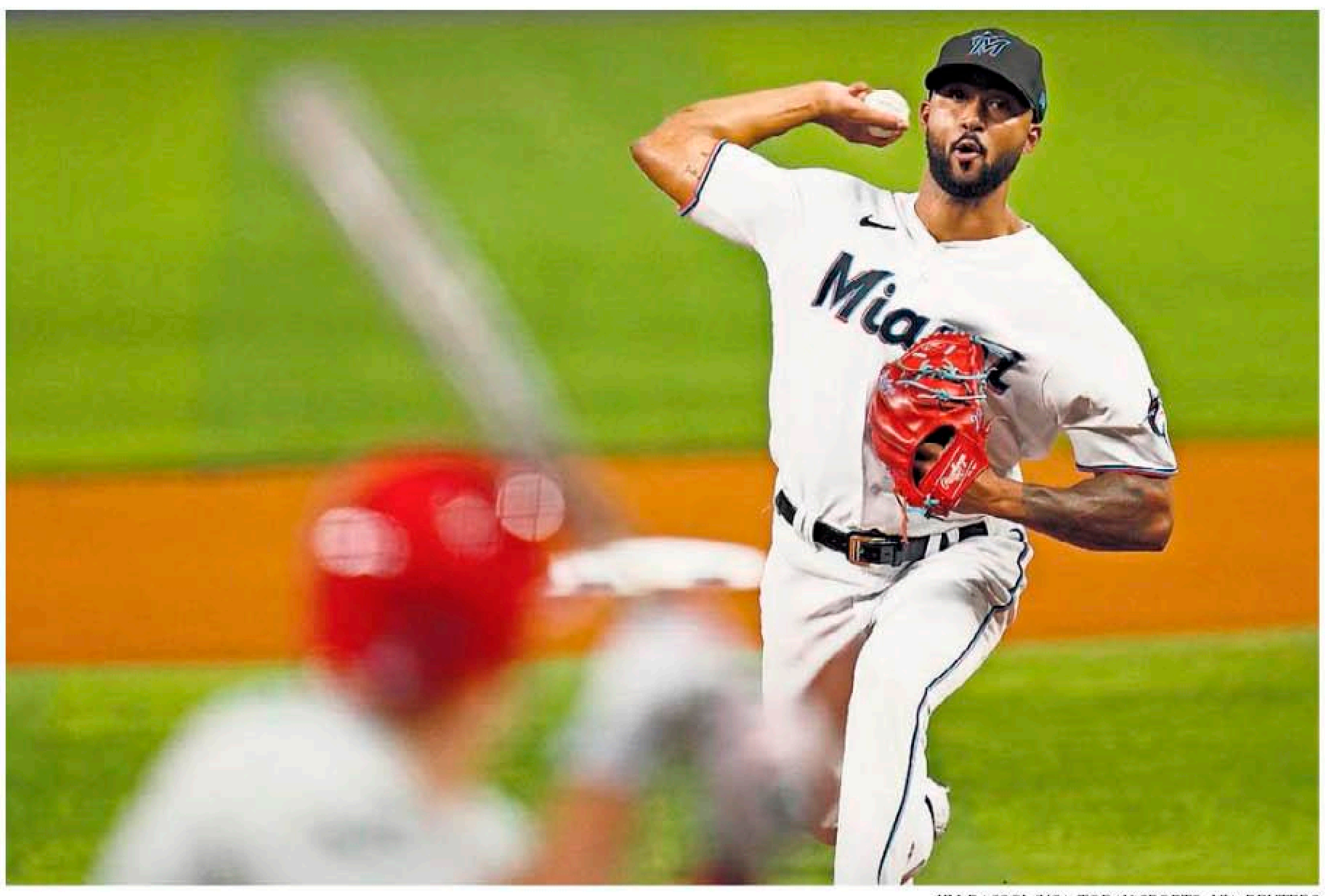
"I don't think we need to start from scratch," he said. "That's where I'm cautiously optimistic we'll find a tracer that works."

BASEBALL



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the just-concluded postseason, Justin Verlander got his first victory in a World Series game.



JIM RASSOL/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

Sandy Alcantara led the major leagues in innings pitched and had a career-best E.R.A. of 2.28.

Verlander Caps a Comeback Season by Winning His Third Cy Young

Alcantara of the struggling Marlins takes the N.L. prize.

By BENJAMIN HOFFMAN

In Justin Verlander's long and celebrated career, it has never been enough to pitch better than his peers. A flame-throwing, right-handed starter, he also needed to pitch more than anyone else.

That determination has led to 12 seasons of at least 200 innings pitched, 251 regular-season games in which he went at least seven innings, and five seasons in which he led his league in starts. "Throwback" is used to describe him so often that he might as well work for the Mitchell & Ness apparel company.

"I do often wonder how I would have been back then," Verlander said in 2017 when asked about the days in which pitchers were expected to finish nearly every game they started. "I think it would be a pretty cool time to play baseball."

In 2022, a slightly different Verlander emerged. Returning to the Houston Astros from nearly two seasons lost to injuries — one six-inning start was his total output for 2020 and 2021 — he led the American League in wins (18), E.R.A. (1.75) and hits allowed per nine innings (6.0), but he was limited (by his standards) to 175 innings, tied for 34th in the majors.

The quality was enough to overcome any concerns about the quantity, as Verlander, 39, won the American League Cy Young Award on Wednesday, holding off younger starters who pitched more innings but couldn't quite match his shockingly good comeback season.

It is the third Cy Young of Verlander's career, after also winning in 2011 and 2019, and the ninth season in which he placed in the top five in voting by members of the Baseball Writers' Association of America. He proved that his talk during spring training about potentially hanging around long enough to win 300 games — he leads active starters with 244 — was not all bluster. And the award was a fitting end to a season in which Verlander, a likely Hall of Famer, won a World Series game for the first time after struggling in eight previous starts.

"The carrot in front of me that I keep striving for is to be great," Verlander told Tyler Kepner of The New York Times before the season. "And so I wouldn't do it otherwise."

In the National League, the Cy Young Award went to Miami's Sandy Alcantara, a hard-throwing right-hander who has fashioned himself as a successor of sorts to Verlander: Alcantara's $228\frac{2}{3}$ innings led the majors in 2022, and his $434\frac{1}{3}$ innings over the last two seasons are $36\frac{1}{3}$ more than any other pitcher.

Alcantara, 27, was an All-Star in 2019, and his career E.R.A. of 3.49 coming into the year was solid. But his success was obscured by his 20-34 career record with the perpetually rebuilding Marlins. His team struggled again in 2022, losing 93 games, but Alcantara thrived, going 14-9 with a 2.28 E.R.A. and 207 strikeouts. He completed six of his 32 starts, while the rest of Major League Baseball's pitchers combined to complete only 30 of 4,828.

Asked in an interview on MLB Network about completing so many games, Alcantara said that is his goal in every start.

"Always," he said. "That's why I get so mad when they take me in the eighth."

Despite his success, Alcantara said he has room to improve, with opportunities to get better from "my foot to my hat."

"Everything that I want to do, I want to do perfect," he said. "I don't feel happy when I do something really good today because I know tomorrow I could do bad."

Verlander, who is a free agent after opting out of his $25 million player option for 2023, was a unanimous winner with all 30 first-place votes, topping his fellow finalists, Dylan Cease of the Chicago White Sox (14 second-place votes) and Alek Manoah of the Toronto Blue Jays (seven second-place votes).

Alcantara, who signed a five-year, $56 million extension with the Marlins in November 2021, was also a unanimous pick, far ahead of the other finalists, Max Fried of the Atlanta Braves (10 second-place votes) and Julio Urías of the Los Angeles Dodgers (seven second-place votes).

"What do you want me to say?" Alcantara said after Pedro Martinez, one of the two other pitchers from the Dominican Republic to win a Cy Young (Bartolo Colon, in 2005, was the third), announced his win. "I made it."

SOCCER

Stadium Deal for New York City F.C. Would Give Mets a Neighbor in Queens

By DANA RUBINSTEIN and KEN BELSON

New York City officials have reached an agreement to build the city's first professional soccer stadium, the centerpiece of a giant mixed-use development that would transform a long-underutilized waterfront section of Queens.

The 25,000-seat stadium for the New York City Football Club is slated to rise on city land by 2027 in the Willets Point neighborhood of Queens, across the street from the right-field foul pole of Citi Field, the home of the Mets, Mayor Eric Adams and the soccer team's officials confirmed on Tuesday.

The stadium would be the first significant major-league sports venue to be built in the city since 2012, and is set to be the focal point of a 23-acre project that includes a 250-room hotel and 2,500 units of housing. Officials say the project would be the city's largest development of entirely affordable housing since the Mitchell-Lama developments of the 1970s.

The deal represents Mayor Adams's most ambitious economic development initiative and comes as he is about to complete his first year in office. It also spells the end of two sagas: the team's decade-long search for a dedicated soccer stadium and an even longer conundrum about the future of Willets Point, a once thriving conglomeration of auto body shops.

"Queens, which is the world's borough, now will become the home of soccer, which is the world's sport," Maria Torres-Springer, the deputy mayor for economic and work force development, said in an interview on Tuesday.

Unlike many stadium deals, including one for the Buffalo Bills negotiated this year by Gov. Kathy Hochul that included nearly $900 million in public funds, city officials said subsidies for this project are largely limited to infrastructure improvements at the site and property tax breaks for the stadium.

The soccer team will pay for the entire construction of the stadium, which is estimated to cost $780 million, city officials said. Neither tax-exempt bond financing nor direct city capital infusions will be used, according to Andrew Kimball, the president of the New York City Economic Development Corporation. The developers are not getting abatements on mortgage recording or sales taxes, he said. But the stadium owners will not have to pay real estate taxes for the duration of the lease.

New York City owns the land on which the stadium and housing will be built, and will lease it to the football club and to a development team that includes Hudson Yards developer Related Companies and Sterling Equities, the development company partially controlled by the Wilpon family, the former owner of the Mets.

Over the course of the 49-year lease, the team will ultimately pay rent of up to $4 million a year to lease the land for the stadium. The team will have the option for a 25-year extension.

The project promises to transform the former industrial zone into a sports and entertainment destination site, comprising Citi Field, the new soccer stadium and the U.S.T.A. Billie Jean King National Tennis Center, which hosts the U.S. Open. And it could put the new owner of the Mets, the hedge fund manager Steven Cohen, in better position to win one of the three new state casino licenses up for grabs; he is in talks with Hard Rock to join forces to propose a casino by Citi Field.

The New York City Football Club's search for a permanent home began in 2012, three years before the team played its first game. In the waning months of former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg's administration, talks were underway to build a stadium for the team in the middle of Flushing Meadows Corona Park.

Those plans were derailed by local politicians and parks advocates, who objected to giving scarce, heavily used parkland to a team that could well afford to build elsewhere: Its majority owner, United Arab Emirates Sheikh Mansour bin Zayed Al Nahyan, also owns the Manchester City Football Club, and its minority owner is the Yankees. The Mets also objected, demanding that it be paid to let soccer fans park in the lots around Citi Field. (The current plan calls for the Mets to receive parking revenue collected during soccer games.)

When that plan fell apart, the team announced it would play at Yankee Stadium for three seasons while it searched for a new site. Three years turned into nearly a decade.

Don Garber, the commissioner of Major League Soccer, preferred that new stadiums be built in urban areas where fans can meet at nearby pubs and restaurants before and after matches, similar to many stadiums in Europe.

"This is just another step toward this vision that we want our clubs to be embedded in the community that's accessible to fans," Garber said of the new stadium.

The team considered nearly 20 locations around the city. Some were floated and then dropped, including land along the Hudson River near Greenwich Village and Baker Field, which is owned by Columbia University, because of complaints by neighbors, costs and other issues.

Playing at Yankee Stadium — with games scheduled when the Yankees were on the road — was less than optimal: Baseball fields have uneven dimensions, making for odd sightlines and tight corners for soccer. The quality of the field, which must be repurposed for each soccer game with, for example, the pitching mound removed and sod put over it, has also been criticized.

Despite it all, the team won its first M.L.S. Cup last year.

To build a bigger following in Queens, the team will play some of its games in Citi Field until the new stadium opens.

"It's pretty much of a fantasy," said Marty Edelman, the football club's vice chairman. "We've been an itinerant tenant in a number of different spaces. I think our fans need a different GPS every week to figure out where they go to watch us play."

The saga of Willets Point has lasted far longer than the team's search for a stadium.

Once a dumping ground that inspired the "valley of ashes" imagery in F. Scott Fitzgerald's "The Great Gatsby," the land eventually morphed into the Iron Triangle, once the city's largest collection of auto body repair shops and scrap yards, some of which sustained families for generations.

In 2007, Mayor Bloomberg announced a plan to put apartments and office buildings on the 60 acres bounded by Citi Field, the Whitestone Expressway and Flushing Creek. His plan was expanded to include a shopping mall on a parking lot technically mapped as parkland, prompting a lawsuit that stopped the project.

Bloomberg's successor, Bill de Blasio, re-envisioned the plan to prioritize affordable housing, and during his second term announced a remediation of the polluted site to allow for 1,100 apartments and a school. Most of the more than 200 businesses that made up the Iron Triangle have since been evicted, or bought out.

City officials initially said that only two businesses remain at the site. After the article published, they revised the number to about a dozen: roughly half on city-owned property. Officials said the city will evict the tenants on city land, and the developers are working on acquiring the private property hosting the other businesses.

Waiss Mohibi, who owns garages there, said the city has pressured him to leave, in bad faith. He said he has four years left on his lease and he will not leave without a buyout.

"You give me a good deal, I'll get out," he said. "If you don't, I stay."

The 1,100 units announced by Mayor de Blasio in 2018 will be incorporated into the 2,500-unit total Mayor Adams announced.

The stadium project and additional housing will have to go through the city's onerous land review process, which is heavily reliant on the support of the local council member. In this case, that council member's support is not in doubt.

"I'm a kid who grew up playing soccer in the fields right across from Willets Point," said Francisco Moya, a councilman who has been pushing for a soccer stadium in Queens for years. "We hope to create the same kind of passion that we see throughout the world, where some kid right now who's playing on Field 11 in Flushing Meadows Corona Park will one day be able to don the jersey of the team that plays right across the way from them."

Nate Schweber contributed reporting.



THE RELATED COMPANIES

A rendering of the soccer stadium and nearby apartments.

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NOTICE OF PUBLIC SALE OF COLLATERAL

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE, that in accordance with applicable provisions of the Uniform Commercial Code as enacted in New York, Notice is hereby given that DW Marcy, LLC ("Secured Party") will sell all of the limited liability company interests held by 415 Marcy Avenue LLC ("Debtor") in 425 Marcy Avenue LLC ("Pledged Entity") to the highest qualified bidder at a public sale in accordance with the provisions of the Uniform Commercial Code as in effect in the State of New York. The sale will take place beginning at 10:00a.m. on Friday, January 6, 2023, in satisfaction of an indebtedness in the approximate amount of $31,529,488.74, via the Cisco WebEx Platform or web-based video conferencing and/or telephonic conferencing program selected by Secured Party. Online bidding will be made available via Cisco WebEx Remote Meeting, Meeting link: https://bit.ly/415Marcy; Access Code: 2555 904 2720, Password: Bi7Uq (24787 from phones and video systems). Join by video system: Dial 25559042720@webex.com. You can also dial 173.243.2.68 and enter your meeting number. Join by phone: +1-650-479-3208 United States Toll. Secured Party's understanding is that the principal asset of Pledged Entity is the parcels of real property located at 415-425 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn, New York and also known as 427 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. The Collateral will be sold to the highest qualified bidder; provided, however, that Secured Party reserves the right to cancel the sale in its entirety, or to adjourn the sale to a future date. The sale will be conducted by Mannion Auctions, LLC, by Matthew D. Mannion, Auctioneer, NYC DCA License No. 1434494, with offices at 305 Broadway, Suite 200, New York, New York. The Collateral will be sold as a block, and will not be divided or sold in any lesser amounts. Interested parties who intend to bid on the above Collateral must contact Brock Cannon of NEWMARK at (212) 372-2066, brock.cannon@nmrk.com, to receive the Terms of Public Sale and bidding instructions. Upon execution of a standard non-disclosure agreement, additional documentation and information will be available. Interested parties who do not contact the Secured Party and qualify prior to the sale will not be permitted to enter a bid.



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MARSHAL / SHERIFF SALES (3650)

MARSHAL EXECUTION SALE
PUBLIC AUCTION
RE: Parking Violations Vs Various Judgment Debtors I Will Sell At Public Auction for City Marshal Bienstock or Any Other City MarshalBy Arthur Vigar Auctioneer On Monday, Nov. 21, 2022 At 10:00AM At Five J's Towing
4825 Baldwin Street, Bronx, N. Y., 10470
All R/T/I in & to the Following Vehicles:

03 AUDI	WAULC68E23A325087
99 MERCEDES	4JGAB54E1XA114185
06 HONDA	1HGCM72786A011661
20 JEEP	1C4PJMDX4LD550048
11 MITSUB	4A32B2FF8BE021854
14 BMW	WBA3B5C50EP542125
11 FORD	1FAHP3FNXBW111101
07 ACURA	2HNYD28507H502140
18 FORD	1FA6P8TH2J5164768
08 HONDA	2HGFA16808H501344
03 HONDA	5FNRL18613B074367
03 FORD	1FAFP404X3F327920
04 SUBARU	JF1SG63624H702583
07 PONTIAC	1G2ZG57N874244858
03 HONDA	5FNRL18993B097616
04 TOYOTA	5TDZA23C84S194057
02 TOYOTA	JTDBE32KX20077469
10 HONDA	5J6RE4H59BL039763
17 TOYOTA	5YFBURHE0HP689962
12 NISSAN	3N1CN7AP6CL884801
09 HONDA	5FNRL38809B022802
08 CHEVR	1GNDV33138D204165
08 HONDA	5FNRL38228B116075
11 FORD	1FMCU0D7XBKB35367
11 CHEVR	2GNALBEC8B1334091
10 TOYOTA	JTDKN3DU9A0171842
04 HONDA	5HSRD78894U242803
98 HONDA	1HGCG1650WA002594
10 DODGE	1B3CC5FV0AN161362
08 CHRYSLER	1C3LC56J38N300748
Following Vehicles Sold With Liens	
99 LEXUS	JT8BD68S3X0081235
13 HYUNDAI	KMHCT4AEXDU279747
19 FORD	1FMCU0GD5KUB30907
21 KIA	5XXG64J28MG057538
20 HONDA	19XZE4F93LE010006
20 HONDA	2HGFC2F83LH550644
13 NISSAN	1N4AL3AP5DC253818
15 SUBARU	JF1GJAK6XFH017617
07 FORD	2FMDK48C67BB30693
17 NISSAN	JN8AT2MV6HW262230
21 MITSUB	JA4ARUAU6MU032088
12 MERCEDES	4JGCB5HE2CA138704
21 MITSUB	JA4ARUAU7MU021603
17 NIISSAN	3N1AB7AP3HY286014
12 KIA	5XYKU4A24CG286549
15 FORD	2FMTK4J99FBC01491
16 DODGE	3C6TRVDGXGE118119
13 HONDA	19XFB2F50DE206953
18 NISSAN	1N4AL3AP2JC212672
22 HONDA	2HGFE2F56NH559406
17 JEEP	1C4RJFBG5HC695426
19 HONDA	3CZRU6H19KG713886
15 CHEVR	2G1115SLXF9112057
Following Vehicles Sold As Salvage	
09 TOYOTA	4T1BK46K69U087696
99 JEEP	1J4GW58S7XC696147
10 HONDA	1HGCP3F84AA006016
14 TOYOTA	2T1BURHE8EC142000
13 HYUNDAI	KMHDH6AE2DU006853

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City Marshal Martin Bienstock
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PRO FOOTBALL



ANDY LYONS/GETTY IMAGES

Titans quarterback Ryan Tannehill threw for 255 passing yards last weekend.

Thursday Night's Game

BY DAVID HILL

Tennessee Titans (6-3)
at Green Bay Packers (4-6)

8:15 p.m. Eastern, Amazon Prime

Line: Packers -3 | Total: 41

The Packers turned a corner last week thanks to Aaron Rodgers's leaning on the rookie receiver Christian Watson, who caught three touchdown passes in a breakout win over the Cowboys. Green Bay ended a five-game losing skid in time to host Tennessee, winner of six of its past seven games.

Titans quarterback Ryan Tannehill gave one of his best performances of the season last week in a tight win over the Broncos — 255 yards, 2 touchdowns and a season-high QBR of 83.3 — to overcome Denver's holding Derrick Henry to only 53 yards. The Titans have covered the spread in their past seven games, and with both phases of the offense pulling in the same direction, there's no reason they won't again on Thursday.

PICK: TITANS +3

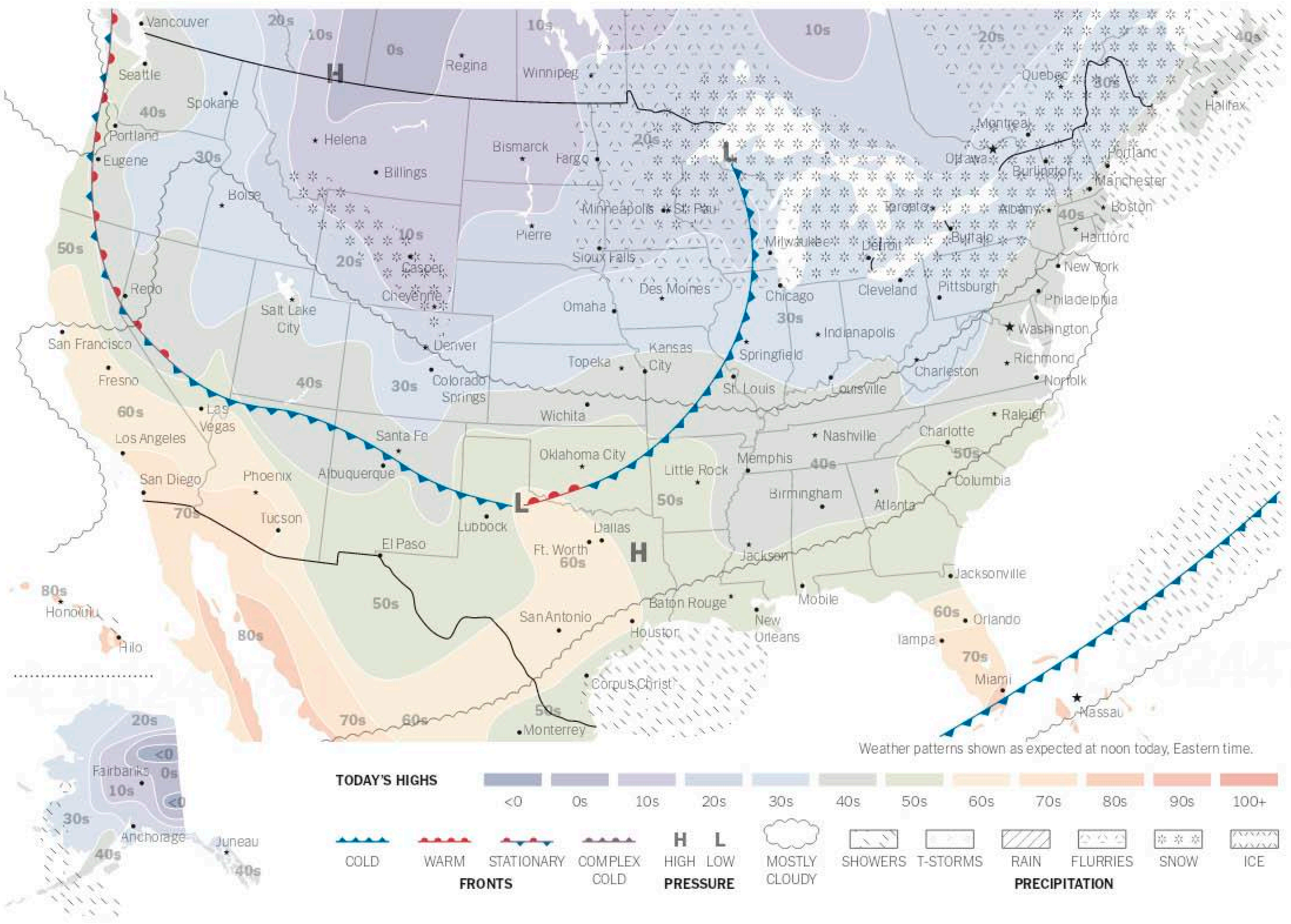


DAN POWERS/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

Packers receiver Christian Watson caught three touchdown passes on Sunday.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

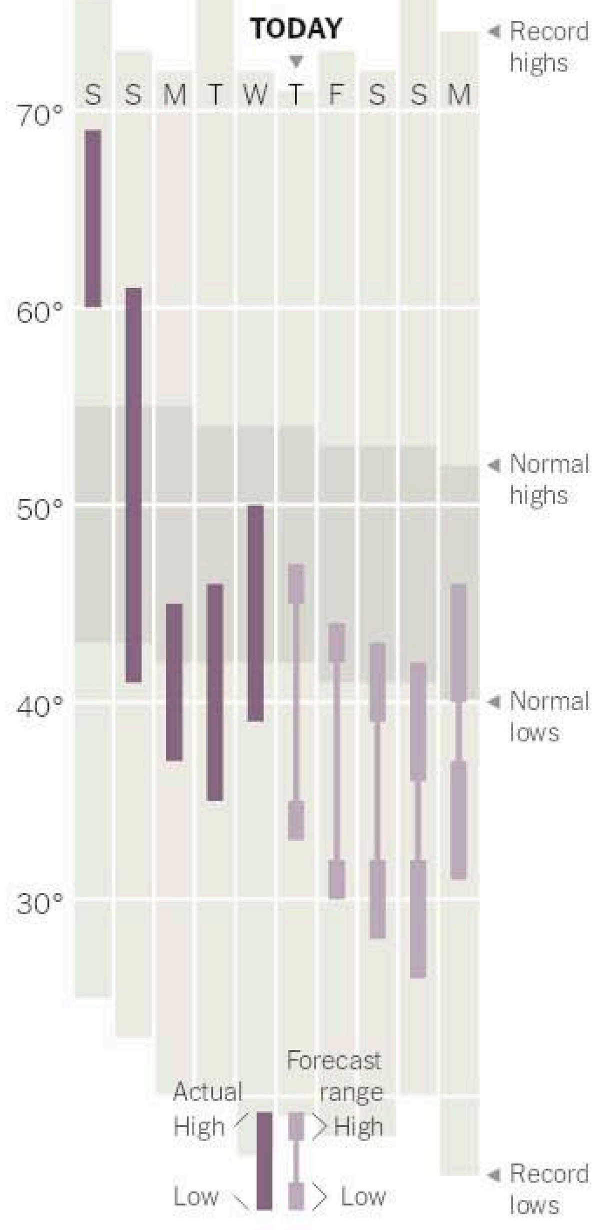
TODAY ....Windy and cooler
High 46. High pressure will provide more sunshine during the day while a gusty wind blows. Temperatures will remain below average for this time of year, with readings similar to December.

TONIGHT ....Clear
Low 34. Tonight will be clear, brisk and cold, with freezing temperatures again in the normally colder spots late. The area will remain dry with high pressure moving overhead for the overnight hours.

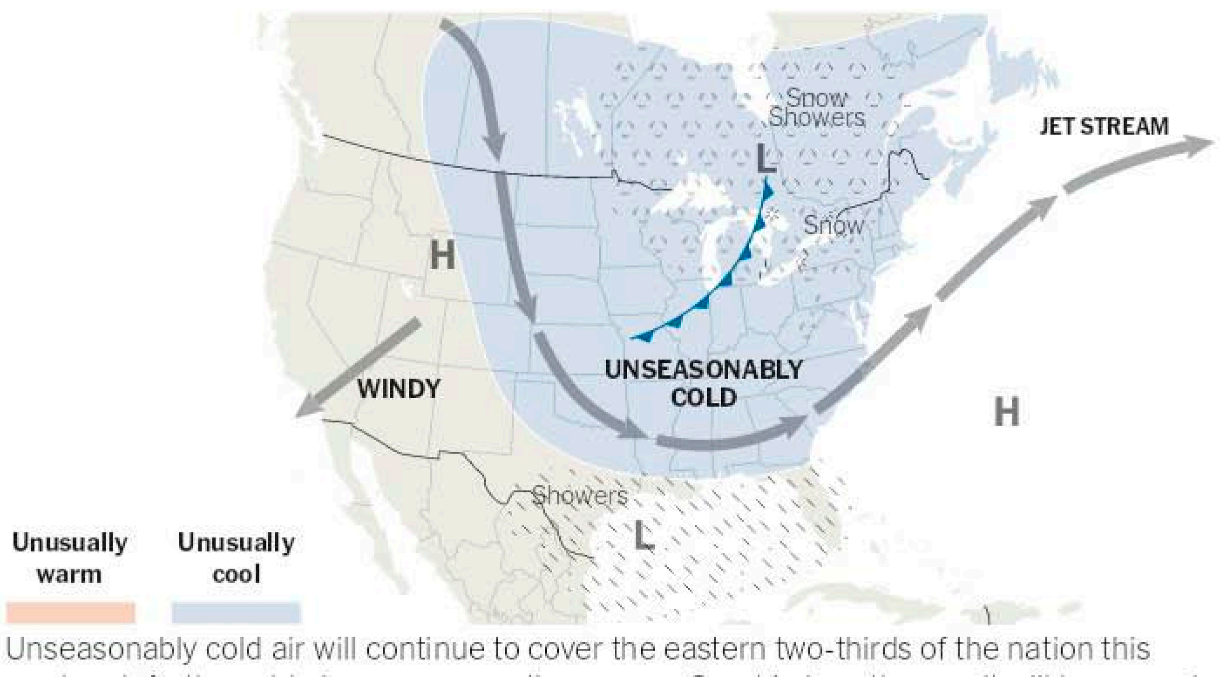
TOMORROW ....Cold with lots of sunshine
High 43. The day will feature a good deal of sunshine with high pressure remaining over the Northeast. It will be brisk and breezy, with temperatures remaining below average for this time of year.

SATURDAY ....Sunny but cold
It will be very frigid, with some of the coldest air of the season moving into the area. There will be a gusty wind, along with plenty of sunshine. High 41.

SUNDAY
MONDAY ....Dry and cold
Temperatures will remain very cold for Sunday despite some sunshine. High 39. High pressure will keep dry and chilly conditions around for Monday. High 42.



Highlight: The Weekend Outlook



Unseasonably cold air will continue to cover the eastern two-thirds of the nation this weekend. As the cold air crosses over the warmer Great Lakes, the result will be several bands of heavy snowfall. Showers will linger from South Texas to Florida.

National Forecast

A strong storm system will push away from the Eastern Seaboard today, leaving little more than some rain and snow showers through mainly interior sections of the Northeast and New England.

However, a major lake-effect snowstorm will begin to take shape around the Great Lakes, with extremely heavy snow possible by late in the day. Other areas of generally lighter snow will extend into the North Central States and into parts of the northern Plains along and behind a cold front, with heavier snowfall possible in Colorado near a storm center that will develop in the Rocky Mountains.

Elsewhere, showers could reach parts of the lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas, with quiet weather expected for much of the Southeast and West Coast.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature



Avg. daily departure from normal this month .... +6.9°
Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +0.7°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)
Yesterday 72%
Est. normal 79%

Precipitation (in inches)
Yesterday .... 0.28 | Snow........................ 0.0
Record .... 2.39 | Since Oct. 1 .... 0.0

For the last 30 days
Actual 2.57
Normal 3.78

For the last 365 days
Actual 40.92
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure
High .... 30.08 1 a.m.
Low .... 29.87 7 a.m.

Humidity
High .... 95% 5 a.m.
Low .... 58% 4 p.m.

Heating Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature fell below 65

Yesterday... 20
So far this month...................................... 134
So far this season (since July 1) 412
Normal to date for the season 512

Trends

	Temperature: Below	Temperature: Above	Precipitation: Below	Precipitation: Above
Last 10 days		●		●
30 days		●	●	
90 days		●	● (average)	
365 days		●	● (average)	

Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	**S**	Sun
F	Fog	**Sn**	Snow
H	Haze	**SS**	Snow showers
I	Ice	**T**	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	**Tr**	Trace
R	Rain	**W**	Windy
Sh	Showers	**–**	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	50/ 39 0.28	46/ 34 W	43/ 31 S
Bridgeport	51/ 40 0.42	48/ 33 PC	47/ 31 S
Caldwell	52/ 39 0.40	47/ 31 PC	43/ 26 S
Danbury	47/ 36 0.37	45/ 28 PC	43/ 26 PC
Islip	52/ 46 0.63	47/ 31 PC	44/ 29 S
Newark	53/ 41 0.51	48/ 32 W	46/ 28 S
Trenton	50/ 39 0.46	44/ 30 PC	43/ 26 S
White Plains	49/ 38 0.51	45/ 30 PC	42/ 27 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	41/ 30 0.19	42/ 25 SS	41/ 20 Sn
Albuquerque	42/ 24 0	46/ 25 S	38/ 24 C
Anchorage	25/ 16 0	26/ 15 S	25/ 19 S
Atlanta	51/ 34 0	48/ 29 S	51/ 34 S
Atlantic City	56/ 39 0	49/ 35 W	48/ 33 W
Austin	59/ 36 0	63/ 34 PC	58/ 40 PC
Baltimore	52/ 32 0	47/ 28 S	46/ 28 S
Baton Rouge	53/ 36 0	52/ 28 C	55/ 40 S
Birmingham	53/ 30 0	47/ 27 S	53/ 30 S
Boise	40/ 21 0	38/ 22 PC	37/ 19 S
Boston	53/ 36 0.75	46/ 33 PC	45/ 32 S
Buffalo	39/ 31 0.27	37/ 29 SS	34/ 24 SS
Burlington	39/ 29 0.35	37/ 24 Sn	37/ 24 PC
Casper	35/ 12 0	12/ -7 Sn	19/ 12 PC
Charlotte	58/ 33 0.01	51/ 27 PC	54/ 33 S
Chattanooga	51/ 31 0	47/ 28 S	50/ 27 S
Chicago	37/ 28 0.11	31/ 19 SS	24/ 17 C
Cincinnati	38/ 27 Tr	35/ 27 PC	33/ 17 C
Cleveland	38/ 30 0.02	37/ 25 SS	31/ 20 SS
Colorado Springs	41/ 17 0	33/ 10 Sn	18/ 9 Sn
Columbus	38/ 29 0.03	36/ 27 C	31/ 20 Sn
Concord, N.H.	42/ 27 0.73	42/ 23 C	40/ 21 PC
Dallas-Ft. Worth	56/ 35 0	60/ 38 S	51/ 32 PC
Denver	42/ 21 0	25/ 6 Sn	21/ 8 S
Des Moines	29/ 20 0.04	32/ 14 Sn	23/ 15 PC
Detroit	39/ 29 0.01	38/ 25 SS	31/ 19 SS
El Paso	50/ 30 0	54/ 33 S	58/ 32 PC
Fargo	21/ 17 Tr	23/ 2 SS	17/ 6 Sn
Hartford	46/ 30 0.05	46/ 27 PC	44/ 24 S
Honolulu	85/ 71 0	86/ 71 PC	84/ 72 PC
Houston	57/ 39 0	59/ 37 PC	58/ 42 PC
Indianapolis	33/ 25 0.03	35/ 23 C	29/ 16 C
Jackson	53/ 33 0	48/ 26 PC	55/ 32 S
Jacksonville	68/ 45 Tr	58/ 37 C	59/ 39 PC
Kansas City	34/ 21 0	41/ 15 PC	28/ 20 S
Key West	84/ 75 0	79/ 70 PC	80/ 72 C
Las Vegas	60/ 38 0	59/ 41 S	59/ 38 PC
Lexington	41/ 23 0.01	40/ 26 PC	36/ 18 PC
Little Rock	54/ 25 0	52/ 31 S	45/ 29 PC
Los Angeles	75/ 47 0	75/ 49 PC	70/ 47 S
Louisville	43/ 26 0.02	39/ 29 S	37/ 22 C
Memphis	50/ 27 0	46/ 31 S	44/ 27 S
Miami	86/ 72 0	81/ 67 PC	78/ 74 C
Milwaukee	39/ 28 0.12	32/ 22 SS	28/ 17 C
Mpls.-St. Paul	32/ 19 0.04	26/ 14 Sn	16/ 14 C
Nashville	49/ 26 0	45/ 27 S	44/ 24 S
New Orleans	55/ 46 0	52/ 40 C	56/ 46 C
Norfolk	58/ 40 0	47/ 34 PC	50/ 37 S
Oklahoma City	48/ 27 0	55/ 28 S	34/ 22 SS
Omaha	31/ 21 0.01	33/ 12 W	26/ 19 S
Orlando	82/ 56 0.08	68/ 50 PC	67/ 53 PC
Philadelphia	53/ 36 0	47/ 32 W	44/ 28 S
Phoenix	71/ 46 0	70/ 44 S	69/ 46 PC
Pittsburgh	38/ 28 0.02	35/ 26 SS	33/ 20 SS
Portland, Me.	45/ 30 0.84	44/ 26 PC	42/ 26 PC
Portland, Ore.	50/ 34 0	51/ 34 W	47/ 32 S
Providence	54/ 33 0.91	46/ 30 PC	46/ 27 S
Raleigh	57/ 35 0	50/ 27 PC	52/ 31 S
Reno	44/ 20 0	48/ 27 PC	41/ 18 S
Richmond	57/ 32 0	49/ 28 PC	50/ 30 S
Rochester	41/ 31 0.16	38/ 27 SS	33/ 23 SS
Sacramento	64/ 34 0	63/ 37 PC	67/ 38 S
Salt Lake City	38/ 24 0	42/ 24 PC	35/ 20 S
San Antonio	59/ 40 0	60/ 40 PC	52/ 41 C
San Diego	73/ 46 0	73/ 49 PC	68/ 48 PC
San Francisco	65/ 47 0	61/ 47 PC	63/ 46 PC
San Jose	67/ 39 0	63/ 40 PC	64/ 39 PC
San Juan	88/ 74 0	85/ 74 PC	86/ 74 Sh
Seattle	52/ 37 0	51/ 32 S	47/ 32 PC
Sioux Falls	26/ 20 0.04	23/ 8 SS	21/ 14 C
Spokane	32/ 25 0	35/ 16 S	30/ 16 S
St. Louis	36/ 23 Tr	44/ 22 PC	33/ 19 PC
St. Thomas	88/ 76 0	87/ 76 PC	87/ 77 S
Syracuse	42/ 32 0.06	38/ 30 SS	37/ 24 PC
Tampa	77/ 54 Tr	70/ 51 PC	69/ 56 PC
Toledo	39/ 31 0.01	37/ 25 SS	32/ 20 PC
Tucson	69/ 43 0	70/ 43 S	70/ 41 PC
Tulsa	46/ 24 0	55/ 28 S	36/ 22 SS
Virginia Beach	58/ 41 0	49/ 36 PC	51/ 38 S
Washington	53/ 34 0	47/ 32 S	48/ 33 S
Wichita	38/ 23 0	43/ 19 PC	29/ 17 PC
Wilmington, Del.	52/ 32 0	46/ 29 S	45/ 29 S

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	73/ 56 0.31	73/ 55 PC	72/ 50 Sh
Cairo	73/ 58 0	74/ 59 S	76/ 58 S
Cape Town	70/ 59 0	70/ 54 PC	69/ 55 C
Dakar	89/ 75 0	85/ 77 PC	87/ 75 S
Johannesburg	79/ 53 0	82/ 58 PC	76/ 55 T
Nairobi	72/ 63 0.12	73/ 62 T	78/ 62 T
Tunis	79/ 57 0.10	73/ 58 PC	76/ 59 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	68/ 56 0.16	74/ 47 PC	74/ 46 S
Bangkok	91/ 76 0.12	92/ 77 T	92/ 78 T
Beijing	61/ 39 0	66/ 43 PC	56/ 43 C
Damascus	67/ 49 0.01	67/ 46 PC	67/ 46 S
Hong Kong	77/ 73 0	80/ 72 PC	80/ 74 S
Jakarta	90/ 79 0.09	88/ 80 T	91/ 80 T
Jerusalem	63/ 46 0.03	62/ 47 PC	65/ 47 S
Karachi	88/ 64 0	90/ 65 PC	85/ 67 PC
Manila	90/ 76 0.06	86/ 76 T	84/ 76 T
Mumbai	91/ 74 0	91/ 72 PC	92/ 72 PC
New Delhi	80/ 56 0	82/ 50 PC	84/ 52 PC
Riyadh	85/ 62 0	86/ 63 PC	83/ 59 C
Seoul	57/ 37 0	60/ 43 S	63/ 45 C
Shanghai	59/ 47 0.73	64/ 57 R	67/ 61 R
Singapore	86/ 75 0.40	86/ 79 T	86/ 78 T
Sydney	63/ 52 0.07	67/ 52 S	72/ 56 S
Taipei City	77/ 72 0.04	79/ 71 PC	84/ 73 PC
Tehran	59/ 45 0	63/ 46 Sh	62/ 45 S
Tokyo	63/ 50 0.01	56/ 47 C	59/ 51 PC

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	54/ 46 0.14	52/ 43 R	49/ 41 PC
Athens	72/ 57 0	72/ 64 Sh	73/ 63 Sh
Berlin	47/ 42 0.15	43/ 35 C	37/ 21 C
Brussels	54/ 44 0.24	53/ 42 R	50/ 37 PC
Budapest	51/ 43 0.32	52/ 40 C	45/ 36 Sh
Copenhagen	49/ 39 0	44/ 35 W	44/ 29 Sh
Dublin	52/ 34 0.01	50/ 42 PC	48/ 38 C
Edinburgh	48/ 32 0.04	48/ 41 R	47/ 37 PC
Frankfurt	55/ 45 0.26	50/ 44 R	46/ 39 C
Geneva	59/ 46 0.25	56/ 45 R	47/ 38 Sh
Helsinki	30/ 23 0.05	36/ 19 S	28/ 14 C
Istanbul	58/ 50 0	66/ 56 C	65/ 56 R
Kyiv	40/ 36 0.28	37/ 28 SS	32/ 31 C
Lisbon	64/ 59 0.17	65/ 54 Sh	59/ 50 PC
London	55/ 46 0.21	50/ 47 Sh	53/ 41 C
Madrid	57/ 47 0.11	61/ 43 Sh	51/ 33 PC
Moscow	28/ 19 0.06	25/ 16 S	22/ 19 S
Nice	69/ 53 0.11	71/ 52 C	71/ 53 C
Oslo	37/ 21 0.08	35/ 22 Sn	35/ 29 Sn
Paris	55/ 43 0.33	57/ 44 R	54/ 39 PC
Prague	43/ 37 0.04	40/ 38 C	39/ 23 R
Rome	71/ 58 0.71	66/ 57 PC	66/ 52 Sh
St. Petersburg	32/ 24 0.03	32/ 18 PC	26/ 21 C
Stockholm	37/ 27 0	34/ 30 PC	36/ 24 C
Vienna	49/ 41 0.06	49/ 41 C	44/ 28 R
Warsaw	43/ 33 0.12	33/ 19 PC	31/ 16 C

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	88/ 75 0	88/ 79 PC	88/ 78 PC
Bermuda	77/ 73 0.04	78/ 70 C	76/ 68 C
Edmonton	33/ 21 0	15/ 7 PC	28/ 3 PC
Guadalajara	85/ 47 0	85/ 48 S	83/ 46 C
Havana	88/ 65 0	85/ 67 PC	83/ 69 R
Kingston	90/ 79 0.10	87/ 79 T	88/ 78 C
Martinique	87/ 73 0.05	87/ 74 Sh	86/ 74 S
Mexico City	76/ 50 0	75/ 52 PC	73/ 51 PC
Monterrey	62/ 36 0	57/ 37 C	61/ 45 R
Montreal	34/ 29 0.26	33/ 20 SS	33/ 22 SS
Nassau	87/ 73 0	85/ 75 PC	84/ 74 T
Panama City	88/ 74 0.19	87/ 74 T	87/ 74 Sh
Quebec City	30/ 28 0.11	31/ 18 SS	27/ 18 C
Santo Domingo	90/ 72 0	86/ 71 PC	87/ 71 PC
Toronto	36/ 28 0.19	36/ 25 SS	34/ 22 S
Vancouver	45/ 33 0	48/ 29 S	44/ 31 PC
Winnipeg	18/ 9 0.01	22/ 4 C	18/ 3 Sn

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	84/ 67 0	80/ 72 PC	82/ 68 PC
Caracas	90/ 75 0.39	90/ 72 Sh	90/ 74 T
Lima	72/ 61 0	71/ 62 PC	72/ 63 PC
Quito	65/ 48 0.12	64/ 48 Sh	65/ 48 R
Recife	84/ 78 0	86/ 79 PC	87/ 79 S
Rio de Janeiro	79/ 71 0.12	77/ 65 S	75/ 66 S
Santiago	89/ 57 0	95/ 59 S	94/ 57 S

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

New	First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter
Nov. 23 5:56 p.m.	Nov. 30	Dec. 7 11:08 p.m.	Dec. 16

Sun	**RISE**	6:45 a.m.	**Moon**	**S**	1:42 p.m.
	SET	4:36 p.m.		**R**	12:41 a.m.
	NEXT R	6:46 a.m.		**S**	2:04 p.m.
Jupiter	**S**	2:07 a.m.	**Mars**	**S**	9:18 a.m.
	R	2:13 p.m.		**R**	6:05 p.m.
Saturn	**R**	12:31 p.m.	**Venus**	**R**	7:19 a.m.
	S	10:41 p.m.		**S**	4:57 p.m.

Boating

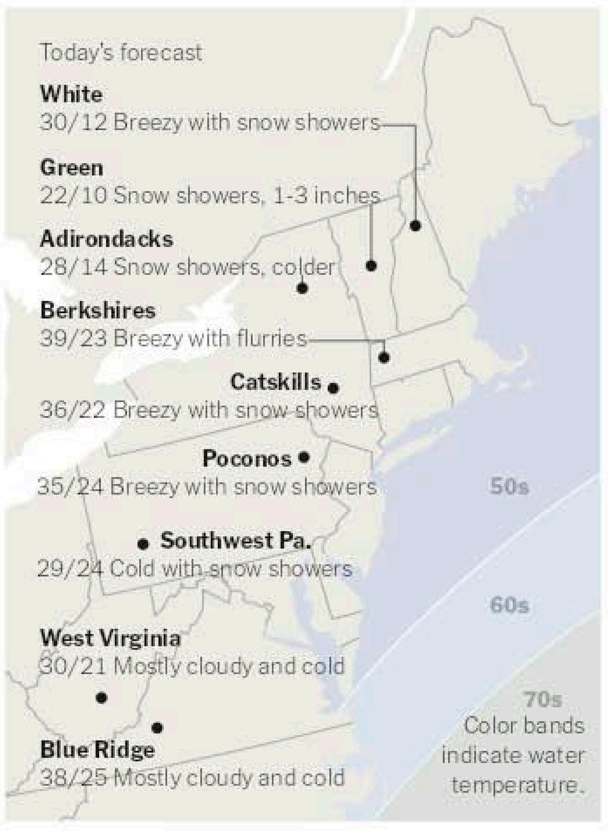
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be from the west at 15-25 knots. Wave heights will be 2-4 feet on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound and 3-6 feet on the ocean. Visibility generally unrestricted to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	1:51 a.m.	1:50 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	1:58 a.m.	1:50 p.m.
The Battery	2:43 a.m.	2:32 p.m.
Beach Haven	3:22 a.m.	3:18 p.m.
Bridgeport	5:33 a.m.	5:50 p.m.
City Island	5:53 a.m.	5:39 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	2:50 a.m.	2:46 p.m.
Montauk Point	3:42 a.m.	3:59 p.m.
Northport	5:39 a.m.	5:59 p.m.
Port Washington	5:31 a.m.	5:45 p.m.
Sandy Hook	2:04 a.m.	2:00 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	1:51 a.m.	2:05 p.m.
Stamford	5:26 a.m.	5:44 p.m.
Tarrytown	4:32 a.m.	4:21 p.m.
Willets Point	6:00 a.m.	5:46 p.m.

Mountain and Ocean Temperatures



Lake-effect snow showers will persist across Pennsylvania and New York throughout Thursday. Conditions will be blustery and brisk in this region, along with some sunny breaks at times, especially in areas just east of the mountains. Temperatures will be lower when compared to those of recent days.

Virginia McLaurin, Who Spontaneously Danced With the Obamas, Dies

By MIKE IVES

Virginia McLaurin, who was born into a family of Black sharecroppers in the Jim Crow South and took a star turn as a centenarian when she danced with Barack and Michelle Obama at the White House, died on Monday at her home in Olney, Md.

She was 113 by her own accounting, although she did not have a birth certificate.

The cause was congestive heart failure, her son Felipe Cardoso said.

Ms. McLaurin lived quietly in Washington for decades before her life took an unexpected turn in February 2016, when she joined a star-studded list of guests attending a Black History Month reception at the White House.

Upon entering a room where President and Mrs. Obama were waiting to greet her, she raised her hands and yelled, "Hi!" As President Obama held her arms, she began dancing in place, supported by her cane.

"How are you?" Mr. Obama asked.

"I'm fine!" Ms. McLaurin said, her head bobbing with excitement.

As Mr. Obama led Ms. McLaurin across the room to his wife, he implored her to take it easy. "Slow down, now," he said affectionately. "Don't go too quick!"

In the center of the room, Ms. McLaurin danced with Mrs. Obama for a moment. Then, with a president on one arm and a first lady on the other, she paused to consider the setting — and her place in American history.

"I thought I would never live to get in the White House," she said, slowly and carefully, as the Obamas chirped encouragement. She added that she was "so happy" to have a Black couple living there.

"You have just made our day," Mrs. Obama said. "You know that? That energy, man."

"Well, you made *my* day," Ms. McLaurin replied.

"People focus on her dancing" with the Obamas, Deborah Menkart, a friend who helped arrange the White House meeting, said on Tuesday. "But she also spoke — and drove the conversation in a way that many people would not have known how to do."

Christine Chung and Alex Traub contributed reporting.



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO BY LAWRENCE JACKSON

Virginia McLaurin, right, in Washington in 2016, days after she met President Barack Obama and Michelle Obama during a Black History Month celebration. A video of the encounter made her famous. "I thought I would never live to get in the White House," the centenarian said afterward.



KATE PATTERSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Virginia Lugenia Campbell's exact birth date is unclear. She said she believed it had been recorded in a family Bible as March 12, 1909, The Washington Post reported. According to a 2016 letter from a vital records department in South Carolina, which Ms. Menkart provided to The New York Times, she was said to have been born on March 12, 1916. But the letter also noted that no birth records for her had been found between the years 1915 and 1920.

What is clear is that Virginia was born in Cheraw, a small city in South Carolina. Her father, John Oliver Campbell, died when she was 1, according to Ms. Menkart. Her mother, Flora Ella McQueen, taught her to sew.

"We had working clothes and Sunday clothes," Ms. McLaurin later told an interviewer for an oral history project. "Now you wear anything you want."

She said that her grandfather was a Methodist minister, that her stepfather was a Baptist, and that she was baptized in a white man's fishing pond when she was about 11.

A sharecroppers' daughter who had a dream come true.

She said she would walk 10 miles to school, in one pair of shoes a year. She dropped out to get married when she was in the eighth grade.

She was widowed twice, and she got her surname from one of her husbands, Marshall McLaurin, Mr. Cardoso said. She had two children from a relationship with a man named Willie Johnson Sr., Idamae Streeter and Willie Jr. She began to raise Mr. Cardoso when he was 3 years old and later adopted him, and the two lived together in Olney, Mr. Cardoso said.

In addition to Mr. Cardoso, Ms. McLaurin is survived by Ms. Streeter and at least 50 other descendants, including a great-great-great-grandchild. Willie Johnson Jr. died decades ago, Mr. Cardoso said.

Ms. McLaurin moved to Washington around 1939 as part of the Great Migration of millions of Black people from the American South to Northern, Midwestern and Western states that had begun in the 1910s. She worked in a laundry and at a shipyard, among other places.

In retirement, she devoted much of her time to volunteering in local schools, her family said.

When the Obama administration released the video of her visit to the White House, it was widely shared on social media and gave her something new and unfamiliar: a public profile.

Donations from strangers helped her move to a better apartment and get medical treatment, Ms. Menkart said. She was also invited to attend a baseball game, a play and other public events as an honored guest. In 2017, she celebrated her birthday with the Harlem Globetrotters and a classroom of public schoolchildren who called her "Grandma Virginia."

Ms. McLaurin was eager to put the clout that she earned to good use.

One of her passions was voting. In videos that she recorded ahead of the 2016 election, she encouraged young people to vote for a simple reason: It was the only way to be counted.

"Please go vote," she said in one. "Go vote. If you don't do anything else — if you have to crawl — go to the poll and vote."

Ms. McLaurin also used her public perch to draw attention to her inability to obtain the government identification she would need to board an airplane. Getting a nondriver photo ID would have required a birth certificate from South Carolina, but to get the certificate she would have needed the ID.

"I don't think I'll ever get that face card," Ms. McLaurin told the Washington Post columnist Courtland Milloy two months after her visit to the White House. "I was birthed by a midwife and the birthday put in a Bible somewhere. I don't know if they even had birth certificates back then."

Days after Mr. Milloy publicized that Catch-22, Mayor Muriel E. Bowser of Washington announced a new regulation that modified the requirements for getting the ID for people 70 and older. She also visited Ms. McLaurin's home and stood by as she signed the paperwork.

Fred Hickman, 66, Insightful Interviewer Who Carved a Space for Sports on CNN

By RICHARD SANDOMIR

Fred Hickman, a skilled and affable journalist with CNN's "Sports Tonight" who was one of the first Black people to anchor a national cable sports broadcast, died on Nov. 9 in Kissimmee, Fla. He was 66.

His wife, Sheila Bowers Hickman, said the cause of his death, in a hospital, was liver cancer.

Mr. Hickman would later work at the YES Network, the Yankees' channel, and at ESPN. But he was best known for his 21 years at CNN, a network that was otherwise devoted to national and international news.

He became a sports anchor at CNN when the network started in 1980, and gained praise early on for his interviews with sports figures, including Frank Robinson, whom he pressed on the racial issues facing baseball before his first season as manager of the San Francisco Giants. Within a few months, the network teamed Mr. Hickman with Nick Charles on "Sports Tonight." Competing directly with ESPN's "SportsCenter," "Nick and Hick," as they were known, became an entertaining and popular pairing, anchoring a half-hour of news, analysis and highlights on weeknights at 11 until 1997, with one two-year interruption in the mid-1980s.

"We were a sports show in the context of news," Mr. Hickman told The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette in 2000, referring to being on a network with no other sports programming. "One of the biggest compliments I get is 'I really don't like sports, but I like watching your show.'"



KELLY MILLS, VIA CNN

Fred Hickman, left, alongside Nick Charles in 1989. They were the entertaining longtime co-hosts of "Sports Tonight" on CNN.

During CNN's coverage of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Mr. Hickman watched a man hold up a sign that alluded to a regular "Sports Tonight" feature.

"Fred on CNN," it read. "United Germany the Play of the Day."

Fredrick Douglas Hickman was born on Oct. 17, 1956, in Springfield, Ill. His father, George, was the head of maintenance at Abraham Lincoln Capital Airport in Springfield; his mother, Louise (Bush) Hickman, worked for the State of Illinois.

He was the program and music director of the campus radio station at Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, from which he graduated in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in sociology. After a stint at a radio station in Springfield, he was hired as a news anchor and sports reporter on the Springfield television station WICS.

He was 23 when he joined CNN. "I'm the sort of guy who's been stuck doing two-to-three-minute highlights," he told the Sunday magazine of The Atlanta Journal and Constitution in 1980, "and now I've got a chance to show almost everything important that happens in sports."

He and Mr. Charles had fun — on one early show, confetti was dropped on them to celebrate a rare Baltimore Orioles victory — but they also interviewed newsmakers like Mike Tyson, when he was released from prison after serving time for rape.

"Fred had an amazing ability to exude intelligence, humor and charm whenever he was on camera," Jim Walton, the former president of CNN Worldwide, said in a text.

Mike Hill, who worked at ESPN and Fox Sports, wrote on Twitter that Mr. Hickman was a Black role model. "Long before I was inspired by any sports anchor on 'SportsCenter,'" he wrote, "Fred was the anchor I looked up to. He was solid, great & looked like ME. A rarity back then."

Mr. Hickman left CNN in 1984 to anchor sports at WDIV-TV in Detroit. While there, he developed a cocaine habit.

"I was a young kid and I was in a city that I didn't particularly like," he told The Democrat and Chronicle of Rochester, N.Y., in 1993. After rehabilitation, he left the station in 1986 and rejoined CNN and Mr. Charles later that year. He remained on "Sports Tonight" until 2001. (Mr. Charles died in 2011.)

While at Turner Broadcasting, the parent company of CNN, Mr. Hickman also hosted an N.B.A. pregame and postgame show on TBS and an N.F.L. pregame and postgame show on TNT. He and Mr. Charles also hosted TNT's 1992 and 1994 Winter Olympics coverage.

'We were a sports show in the context of news,' he once said.

In 2000, Mr. Hickman made news when it was revealed that he had cast the only vote against Shaquille O'Neal for the National Basketball Association's Most Valuable Player Award. He preferred Allen Iverson. That choice led to anonymous threats of personal harm on his office voice mail and to antipathy from Mr. O'Neal for being denied a unanimous vote.

After Mr. Hickman's long run at CNN, his career turned peripatetic: relatively short stints at YES, ESPN and Fox Sports South, where he hosted Atlanta Braves programming, as well as TV stations in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, La., and Hagerstown, Md. In Baton Rouge and Hagerstown he was a news anchor, which helped satisfy his love of political coverage.

Sheila Hickman said that his shift to jobs at local stations was a bit of a shock to her husband.

"None of the networks were biting," she said. "He felt he was a network guy."

His final job before retiring was as an anchor for the Black News Channel from 2020 until earlier this year, shortly before it went off the air. He had been working on a memoir at the time.

In addition to his wife, Mr. Hickman, who lived in Poinciana, Fla., is survived by a daughter, Gabrielle Hickman; a son, Mack Hickman; a sister, Louann Hickman; and a stepbrother, Steven Archie. His first marriage, to Judith Tillman, ended in divorce.

"Fred was the most naturally talented person I've ever worked with on television," Vince Cellini, who in 1998 became Mr. Hickman's partner on "Sports Tonight," said in a phone interview. "He had an electricity that jumped through the screen."

Deaths

Bravmann, Ludwig	Greenwald, Edith
Doerge, Penelope	Hoffman, Helen
Fishbach, Patti	Kossoff, Phyllis
	Rosenthal, Mitchell

BRAVMANN—Ludwig.
UJA-Federation of New York mourns the passing of our dear friend and cherished leader, Ludwig "Lou" Bravmann, beloved husband of the late Lotte. Lou's deep commitment to service and philanthropy within UJA and the broader Jewish community impacted millions of lives in New York, in Israel, and around the world. Lou's philanthropic and humanitarian legacy continues through his devoted family, who embody his extraordinary spirit of giving and unparalleled leadership within the Jewish world. This gentleman and gentle man was a powerful force for good, and he will be missed. We extend our heartfelt condolences to his children Judy Kaufthal (Uri) and Carol (Charles Berlin); his grandchildren and great-grandchildren; and the entire family.

Amy A.B. Bressman, President;
David L. Moore, Chair of the Board;
Eric S. Goldstein, CEO

BRAVMANN—Ludwig.
Yeshiva University mourns the passing of Ludwig "Lou" Bravmann, beloved benefactor, vice chairman emeritus, honorary degree recipient (1988) and longtime trustee. A visionary leader of YU for more than 40 years, Lou served as chair of the nominating committee and was a member of the investment, development, executive and governance committees. His generosity was boundless, as he was an inspiring and active supporter of many of YU's schools and students, known for his soft voice and strong convictions and for living his ideals. Beloved by his dear late wife Lotte z"l and his family and deeply respected as a quiet and thoughtful leader, Lou supported many Jewish causes, never seeking the spotlight and always showing his concern for others. His impact is felt by many Jewish institutions who were privileged to have him as an important leader. Lou was a true friend to Yeshiva University and will be sorely missed. We extend our condolences to his dear children Judy (Uri) Kaufthal and Carol Bravmann (Charles Berlin), former Chair of the Board of the Ferkauf Graduate School of Psychology, and to his grandchildren and great-grandchildren. May they be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

Yeshiva University
Rabbi Dr. Ari Berman, President
Ira Mitzner, Chairman of the Board

BRAVMANN—Ludwig.
The Jewish Community Relations Council of New York mourns the passing of Ludwig "Lou" Bravmann, father of JCRC-NY Board Member and longtime Celebrate Israel Parade Co-Chair Judy Kaufthal. As a teen Lou witnessed firsthand the horrors of Kristallnacht and went forward to serve in the U.S. Army and become deeply committed to and involved in numerous Jewish communal causes. May Judy, husband Uri, and their entire family be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

Bennett W. Golub, President;
Cheryl Fishbein, Chair of the Board;
Gideon Taylor, Executive VP & CEO;
Michael S. Miller, CEO Emeritus

BRAVMANN—Ludwig.
The Aleph Society mourns the loss of its longtime President. Lou Bravmann was a giant of his time, a man of the strictest integrity. A visionary philanthropist, he taught us what it means to give of one's self. He was deeply committed to his family. Lou was dedicated to the advancement of Jewish knowledge and the furtherance of Jewish people. He will be sorely missed.

Ilan Kaufthal, President
George Rohr, Treasurer
Margy-Ruth Davis, Executive Director

DOERGE—Penelope.



June 29, 2006 - November 10, 2022. Penelope Griggs Doerge, 16, daughter of Chad and Kate Doerge, sister of Henry and Frankie, died at home in Glen Cove, NY surrounded by family and friends on November 10th, 2022. Penny lived a life full of purpose, passion and joy. She was a talented artist, fashionista, world traveler, social media influencer and the founder of "Glam Camp", a summer program for young girls. She loved TikTokking with friends, paddle boarding with her mom, dancing with her dad, pranking her brothers, and snuggling with her dogs. Penny was a model of grace, positivity and courage. Diagnosed with neurofibromatosis (NF1) as an infant, Penny never let this define her or hold her back. She lived her life "Walking on Sunshine", in the words of her favorite song. From her lifelong friendships at home to Fishers Island, NY and Boca Grande, FL, Penny made an impact everywhere she went by shining her bright light. She was an inspiration and a teacher to people of all ages. Born in New York City, Penny attended Beginnings Nursery School until moving to Long Island in 2011. She attended The Green Vale School, Pomfret School and, most recently, Portledge School. Penny was honored with the Buckley Award for Effort and Achievement by The Green Vale School upon her graduation in 2021. Penny is the granddaughter of Carl and Meredith Doerge of Locust Valley, NY and of Frank and Cassie Kernan (deceased) of Bedford, NY, and the niece of Josh and Elizabeth Kernan, Michael and Amanda Kernan, Duke and Lindsey Barnett, and Graham and Chloe Doerge. She was beloved by her 11 cousins. The family will hold a Celebration of Penny's Life at St. John's of Lattingtown in Locust Valley, NY on Friday, November 18, 2022 at 10:30am. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to Hospital for Special Surgery - Lerner Children's Pavilion: HSS.edu/pediatric - giving.asp and Advanced Neurofibromatosis Research - Children's Tumor Foundation: ctf.org.

FISHBACH—Patti.
The Board of Governors and members of Rockrimmon Country Club are profoundly saddened by the passing of their beloved friend and esteemed member. Mrs. Patti Fishbach was a member of Rockrimmon for 33 years. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to all members of the Fishbach family.

William M. Aron, President

GREENWALD—Edith Deborah,
of New Rochelle, New York died on November 14, 2022 at the age of 92. Edith Aaronson was born on February 2, 1930 in the Bronx. She graduated from Hunter College Magna Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa and held a master's degree in Epidemiology from NYU. She was married to Edward S. Greenwald, M.D. for 58 years until his death in 2008, with whom she co-authored the book Cancer Epidemiology. Edith taught mathematics at Grace Dodge High School in the Bronx for over 20 years while raising her four sons in New Rochelle. She is survived by sons David and his wife Rachel, Daniel, Joel and his wife Carol, Joshua and his wife Michelle. She is also survived by five grandchildren Jacob, Samuel, Zachary, Noah and Adam.

HOFFMAN—Helen Ruth.
Loving mother, cherished wife, loyal friend, beloved Ga. We remember her wit, advice, hugs, and love for her Lenny. We love her so. Hey look, Ga, you made The New York Times!

KOSSOFF—Phyllis.
Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York mourns the death of our devoted member for over 50 years Phyllis Kossoff. May the beautiful memories of her long life endure forever in the hearts of those who knew and loved her.

KOSSOFF—Phyllis L.



Great-grandmother, grandmother, mother, mother-in-law, and aunt, has made her final journey to the awaiting embraces of her beloved daughter Stephanie; husband Buddy; cherished mother; father; sister; brother and countless other family members and friends. Their gain is a loss for all of us and for those she touched with her fierce dedication and matching eloquence in her successful fight to lengthen the lives of children suffering from Cystic Fibrosis worldwide. During her 96 years, Phyllis's pioneering fundraising efforts in the field of Cystic Fibrosis were recognized by many and among her awards were the Hunter College Woman of the Year Award presented by the Executive Council of Delta Phi Epsilon and the Spirit of American Award at the Cystic Fibrosis Volunteer Leadership Conference 2016. Despite these recognitions and the accolades she continually received, Phyllis Kossoff always gave more than she got and during her lifetime also funded and established: The ground-breaking Stephanie Lynn Kossoff Cystic Fibrosis Lectureship Columbia Presbyterian; The Burton Kossoff Baruch College Business Lectureship; The Phyllis Kossoff Hunter College/Roosevelt House Lectureship Series; and The Phyllis Kossoff Columbia University Teachers College Lectureship. Phyllis Kossoff's departure leaves a hole in our collective humanity which we must now attempt to fill as we are urged on by her words and deeds and guided by the lessons of love, tolerance, dedication and generosity which she taught. We will miss and remember you always - Mitch, Pam, Alec, Noah, Jeremy, Josh, Lisa & Gabby. Services Friday, November 18, 9:30 am at The Riverside 76th St. and Amsterdam Ave. Donations to any of the lectureships as detailed above.

ROSENTHAL—Mitchell.
He was a hero to me. I served on his board at Phoenix House for more than 20 years and witnessed his uncanny ability to not only save lives but also to resurrect them. Under Mitch's leadership, Phoenix House became the most important drug rehabilitation center in America. He was a best friend, who was always there when one needed him. I will always miss that larger than life personality and his warm friendship.

Larry Leeds

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Budd Friedman, Who Built an Empire of Comedy Clubs, Is Dead at 90

By CLAY RISEN

Budd Friedman, who revolutionized the world of stand-up comedy with his empire of Improv clubs, offering a launching pad for generations of joke tellers, including Richard Pryor, Lily Tomlin, Robert Klein and Jay Leno, died on Saturday in Los Angeles. He was 90.

His daughter Zoe Friedman said the cause of his death, at a hospital, was heart failure.

There were plenty of stand-up comedians before Mr. Friedman opened the original Improv in Manhattan in 1963, but there were few if any dedicated comedy clubs. Comics had to find work in nightclubs, squeezing in a few minutes between singers, or schlep to the Catskills to perform at a resort.



JASON MERRITT/FILMMAGIC, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Friedman in 2007. He was known for watching comics from the back of the room with his trademark monocle.

Mr. Friedman gave comedians pride of place. Though the Improv started as a late-night cafe for Broadway performers and at first featured mostly singers, by the early 1970s it was exclusively a stand-up venue, welcoming both veterans and newcomers.

The club became the model not just for the many Improvs that Mr. Friedman would later open around the country, but also for many imitators that followed. The simple red brick wall behind the stage became a staple of the comedy-club aesthetic, as did the dingy bathrooms and the tight, dark space at the back where Mr. Friedman often sat, peering at the run of show through his trademark monocle.

"The Improv was a game changer," said Tripp Whetsell, who teaches the history of comedy at Emerson College, and who collaborated with Mr. Friedman on the 2017 book "The Improv: An Oral History of the Comedy Club That Revolutionized Stand-Up."

Mr. Friedman had an eye for talent. He hired aspiring actors as wait staff. Danny Aiello worked as a bouncer, as did Joe Piscopo. Dustin Hoffman and Barry Manilow played piano. One of Mr. Friedman's managers, Chris Albrecht, later became the chief executive and chairman of HBO.

Mr. Friedman was frequently the M.C. of an evening's lineup, and he also occasionally managed the performers who crossed his stage. He got Bette Midler her first appearance on "The Tonight Show," and not only took on Mr. Leno as a client but also let the young comic crash on his couch.

"He was the first person to elevate stand-up to an art form by giving comedians a stage they could call their own in front of a willing audience," Mr. Leno wrote in the foreword to "The Improv."

Though Mr. Friedman could be gruff and demanding, he created a convivial, casual environment where aging stars like Milton Berle might brush shoulders with young bucks like Mr. Leno, and even pass on tips of the trade.

"The Improv was the first place where I truly felt like I had found a home," Mr. Leno wrote.

The locus of American comedy moved to the West Coast in 1972 when "The Tonight Show" relocated to Burbank, Calif., from New York. Mr. Friedman followed along, opening a branch of the Improv in Hollywood in 1975. Mr. Leno, who had also moved west, painted the ceiling.

Mr. Friedman went on to build an empire, with 22 clubs in 12 states. In the 1980s he developed "An Evening at the Improv," a show on the A&E cable channel that brought up-and-coming comedians like Drew Carey and Ray Romano to viewers nationwide and juiced that decade's comedy boom.

He and his partner, Mark Lonow, sold their company in 2018 to Levity Entertainment, which later grew the number of Improv clubs to 25.

Gerson Friedman — he said his middle name was Merton, though his Social Security card said it was Lenord — was born on June 6, 1932, in Norwich, Conn., the son of Benjamin and Edith (Magnus) Friedman. His two older sisters took to calling him Buddy; shortened to Budd, the name stuck.

Budd's father died when he was 5, so his mother made money by selling clothes, running a sleepaway camp out of her home. After the family moved to the Bronx, she worked as a hotel bookkeeper.

An average student, Mr. Friedman joined the Army after high school and was sent to fight in the Korean War. On his first day of combat, in 1953, grenade shrapnel hit his right arm and both legs; he spent the rest of the conflict recuperating.

Offering a launching pad for comedians like Richard Pryor and Lily Tomlin.

He returned to New York and enrolled at New York University, graduating with a degree in advertising in 1957. He expected that he would have a hard time breaking into the Manhattan advertising world, so he moved to Boston and found work with a small firm there.

He dreamed of becoming a Broadway producer, and after two years in Boston he quit and once again moved back to New York. To make it, though, he needed more than money; he needed connections.

Around the same time, he noticed that there were no cheap spots for Broadway performers to hang out after their shows. Here was his chance: He could open what he called a "low-rent Sardi's" — after the restaurant that catered to Broadway theatergoers — stay open late, draw in actors and, through them, make inroads into the industry.

Mr. Friedman rented a recently closed Vietnamese restaurant on the seedy western edge of the theater district. He tore out its mirrors and red-lacquer paneling, revealing dusty brick walls behind them. He couldn't afford drywall, so he left them bare.

"I felt like I was lifting up without a flight plan," he told Los Angeles Weekly in 2017. "I didn't know what I was doing."

For the first year and a half, the Improv — originally called the Improvisation — mostly presented singers. Liza Minnelli and her mother, Judy Garland, sang together one night. It was a raucous scene: An inebriated Jason Robards once urinated on the club's brick wall.

Mr. Friedman was game for anything, and in 1964 a young comedian, David Astor, asked if he could try out some material. Mr. Friedman liked what he saw and asked him back. Soon other comedians were dropping in to see Mr. Astor's act and try out their own sets.

Within a few years the Improv was a fixture on the New York nightlife scene, and comedians scrambled to get a booking. Mr. Leno drove down from Boston three times to audition before Mr. Friedman, mostly out of pity, gave him time onstage. Richard Pryor recorded his first stand-up concert film there in 1971.

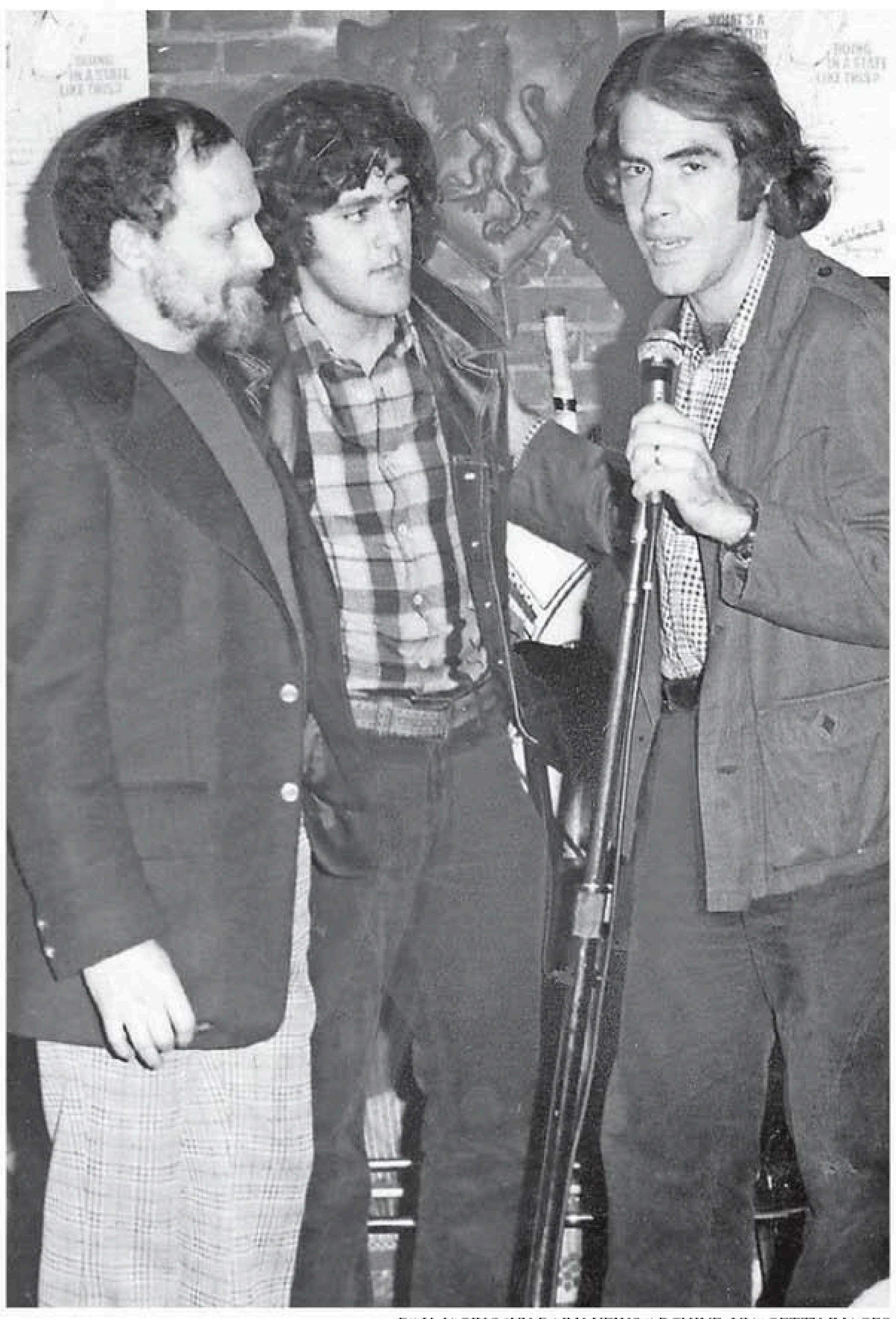
Mr. Friedman's first marriage, to Silver Saundors, ended in divorce. A Broadway singer, she had helped open the original Improv and received control of it in the divorce. The club closed in 1992.

In addition to his daughter Zoe, Mr. Friedman is survived by his wife, Alix (Mark) Friedman; another daughter, Beth Friedman; his stepsons, Dax and Ross Mark; his sister, Kala Mischel; and five grandchildren.

One day in the early 1970s, a friend called Mr. Friedman to tell him about a young comic named Andy Kaufman who wanted to audition. When he arrived, Mr. Kaufman introduced himself in a vaguely Eastern European accent, saying he was from a small island in the Caspian Sea (in fact, he had grown up in the New York suburbs).

He kept up the ruse, even through his set, until he suddenly broke out into an impersonation of Elvis Presley so perfect that Mr. Friedman knew he'd been tricked. From then on, Mr. Kaufman was a fixture at the Improv, and one of Mr. Friedman's favorite performers.

"I love to put people on," Mr. Friedman said in a 2006 interview for Emerson College. "And I love it even more when people put me on."



DAN JACINO/NY DAILY NEWS ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES



CHRIS WEEKS/WIREIMAGE, VIA GETTY IMAGES



DAN JACINO/NY DAILY NEWS ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Budd Friedman onstage at the original Improv comedy club in Manhattan in November 1973, left and above, on a night that included appearances by Jay Leno, center, and Robert Klein, right; and, top right, in 2002 at the Los Angeles Improv, which opened in 1975.

Henry Rosovsky, 95, Dean Who Redefined Harvard

An economic historian who briefly served as the school's acting president.

By SAM ROBERTS

Henry Rosovsky, an economic historian who as a Harvard University dean was instrumental in imposing a back-to-basics core curriculum while establishing groundbreaking undergraduate programs in Black and Jewish studies, died on Friday at his home in Cambridge, Mass. He was 95.

The cause was cancer, his daughter Leah Rosovsky said.

In the wake of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination in 1968, Black students at Harvard demanded a Black studies program, an endowed chair for a Black professor and the recruitment of more Black faculty and students. While Harvard was largely spared the upheaval over Black studies and recruitment that roiled other campuses, its one hastily organized course on Black culture in 1968 was roundly denounced as an inadequate response.

In January 1969, after consultations with Black students, a faculty panel headed by Professor Rosovsky recommended that Harvard establish a degree-granting program in Black studies. It wasn't the first such program in the country, but, because it was Harvard, it became front-page news in The New York Times.

Campus radicals joined Black students in demonstrations demanding more. Three months later, Professor Rosovsky quit the panel after the faculty, in what he branded "an academic Munich," acquiesced to student threats and granted Black students a role in hiring teachers and shaping the curriculum of what was then called the Afro-American studies program. His resignation also made the front page.

What eventually was elevated into the Department of Afro-American Studies was considered an underachieving stepchild until 1991, when Professor Rosovsky, with the support of Harvard's president, Derek Bok — just before both men relinquished their administrative roles — recruited Henry Louis Gates Jr. from Duke University as its chairman.

Professor Gates, now the director of Harvard's Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, described Professor Rosovsky in an email as "one of the first administrators to see African American studies not as ethnic window dressing, but as a bold and innovative addition to the core mission of a liberal arts university, a long-suppressed body of knowledge that would enrich our understanding of the humanities, the arts and the social sciences.

"The success of Harvard's department in this field," he continued, "can be traced to Henry's vision and his commitment of the resources necessary to implement that vision."

Professor Rosovsky was the first Jewish dean of Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences, serving from 1973 to 1984. In 1978, he was a founder of Harvard's Center for Jewish Studies.

"Henry's time as dean," said Lawrence H. Summers, the former Treasury secretary who was the president of Harvard from 2001 to 2006, "saw Harvard College complete the transition from being a WASP redoubt to being a truly open gatherer of extraordinarily talented future leaders."

Professor Rosovsky was also a professor of economics from 1965 to 1996 and briefly, in 1984 and 1987, acting president of Harvard. In 1984, he became the first professor in a century to sit on the seven-member Harvard Corporation, which oversees the entire university.

Perhaps his greatest academic impact resulted from his appeal as faculty dean in 1974 to tighten the loosey-goosey curriculum requirements for graduation. Harvard students, he warned, had so much leeway in choosing their courses that a bachelor's degree would merely amount to a "certificate of attendance."

"The world has become a Tower of Babel in which we have lost the possibility of common discourse and shared values," he told The Times in 1976.

He said an educated person "must be able to communicate with precision, cogency and force" and "should have achieved depth in some field of knowledge" and have a "critical appreciation of the ways in which we gain knowledge and understanding of the universe, of society and of ourselves."

In 1978, following his recommendations, the faculty redefined "an educated person" as one who has an "informed acquaintance" with five academic areas: literature and the arts, history, social and philosophical analysis, science and mathematics, and foreign languages and culture.

Under the new curriculum, students would have to choose six to eight courses, or about a quarter of their undergraduate program, from these areas and spend about half their time to develop "depth in some field of knowledge" as a major.

Henry Rosovsky was born on Sept. 1, 1927, in the Free City of Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland) to Selig and Sonia Rosovsky, Jewish immigrants from Russia. With Nazi Germany poised to seize the city in 1938, the family fled, first to Belgium and then to France, Spain and Portugal, before arriving in New York in 1940.

His father, a lawyer in pre-revolutionary Russia, became a lumber dealer in America. His mother was a homemaker.

After attending the Cherry Lawn School in Darien, Conn., Henry enlisted in the Army and served in the Counterintelligence Corps at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. In 1949, he graduated from the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Va., on the G.I. Bill. From 1950 to 1952 he served in Korea, where his feet froze; he received a Purple Heart and was transferred to a listening station in Japan to monitor Soviet broadcasts.

He earned a master's degree from Harvard in 1953 and a doctorate in 1959. He taught at Stanford, at Hitotsubashi and Tokyo Universities in Japan, and at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

In addition to his daughter Leah, the director of the venerable library the Boston Athenaeum, he is survived by his wife, Nitza (Brown) Rosovsky, an Israeli-born author and a former curator of the Harvard Semitic Museum; two other children, Judy Rosovsky and Michael Rosovsky; four grandchildren; and a great-granddaughter.

In 1959, he was hired by the University of California, Berkeley. He taught economics, history and Japanese studies there until 1965, when he joined an exodus of professors fleeing student unrest for what they misguidedly figured would be more sedate campuses further east.

Mr. Rosovsky remained unflappable, even if Harvard erupted in a more vanilla version of bohemian Berkeley's sometimes bloody confrontations. He became so attached to Harvard that he would reject offers to become president of other universities, including Yale.

Professor Rosovsky's books include "Capital Formation in Japan" (1961), in which he said that nation's rapid transformation from a feudal society to a world power was largely the result of public-sector investment.

He also wrote "The University: An Owner's Manual" (1990), a largely optimistic book about American higher education, which focused on what he called "the true, difficult and timeless questions" for universities: "How do we select professors? How do we govern ourselves? Whom do we admit? What do we teach?"

In that book, he also restated his earlier findings that the incidence and perception of sexual harassment on campus exceeded the level of official complaints.

He served as faculty dean under Derek Bok during tough financial times for Harvard. But he said he was not necessarily chosen because he was an economist.

"How can you be cost effective in teaching biochemistry or Mongolian?" he asked in an interview with The Times in 1974. "No institution is less well adapted to inflation than a university." Yet he expressed faith in Harvard's resiliency.

"You are here for four years," he used to tell students. "The faculty is here for life. And Harvard is here forever."

Tweedy and pipe-puffing, he distinguished himself as diplomatic and self-deprecating in a decidedly egocentric environment. A sign over his desk reminded visitors "The cemeteries are full of irreplaceable people."



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

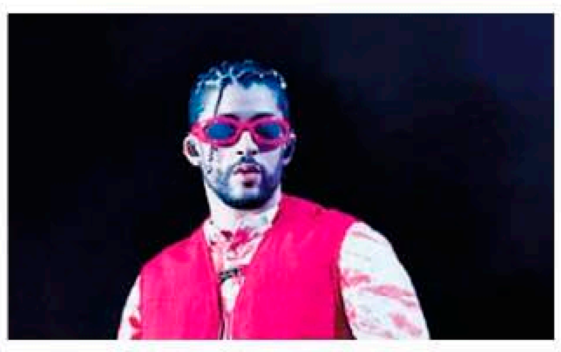


RICK FRIEDMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Henry Rosovsky in his office at Harvard University in 1990, left, and at the commencement in 2007. As faculty dean from 1973 to 1984, he diplomatically persuaded his colleagues to tighten requirements for a degree and create a Black studies program.

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Bad Bunny is the cherry on top. BY BEN SISARIO

5 DANCE REVIEW
Some spirited work at the Joyce. BY GIA KOURLAS







5 THEATER REVIEW
Polar vortexes? These workers have other concerns too.
BY ALEXIS SOLOSKI

Arts
The New York Times



ELLIOTT JEROME BROWN JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tenoch Huerta Mejía projects his own antiracism principles in 'Black Panther: Wakanda Forever.'

Asserting A Right To Be Seen

By CARLOS AGUILAR

It was during an idle summer when he was 17 that Tenoch Huerta Mejía attended his first acting workshop. His father had signed him up, and just as he had been playing football since the age of 5 for fun, he thought of performing as no more than another amusing pastime, not a potential vocation.

"Becoming an actor was as far-fetched as it was for me to become a professional American football player from Mexico," Huerta said from Mexico City. "You can't dream with what you can't see. I didn't see people with my skin color onscreen."

But now, the Mexican star, 41, from the city of Ecatepec just outside the Mexican capital, has leveraged that first taste of the dramatic arts into a blossoming career that landed him the role of Namor, the flying ruler of the fictional underwater kingdom of Talokan, in the superhero epic "Black Panther: Wakanda Forever."

Representing his international breakthrough, the performance has been earning plaudits from critics. For The Hollywood Reporter, David Rooney commended Huerta's "glowering demeanor and burly physicality in the role," while David Sims of The Atlantic praised how the actor infuses the character with "great dignity."

For as long as Huerta can remember, the Mexican television and film industry has looked "like it's made for Scandinavians," as he put it. The productions mostly feature white Mexican or Latin American stars, while brown-skinned performers like him are relegated to subservient, criminal or generally disparaging parts.

Thankfully, even when he wasn't included in the narrative, he took encouragement

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Tenoch Huerta Mejía plays Namor, the ruler of a fictional underwater kingdom, in "Black Panther: Wakanda Forever."

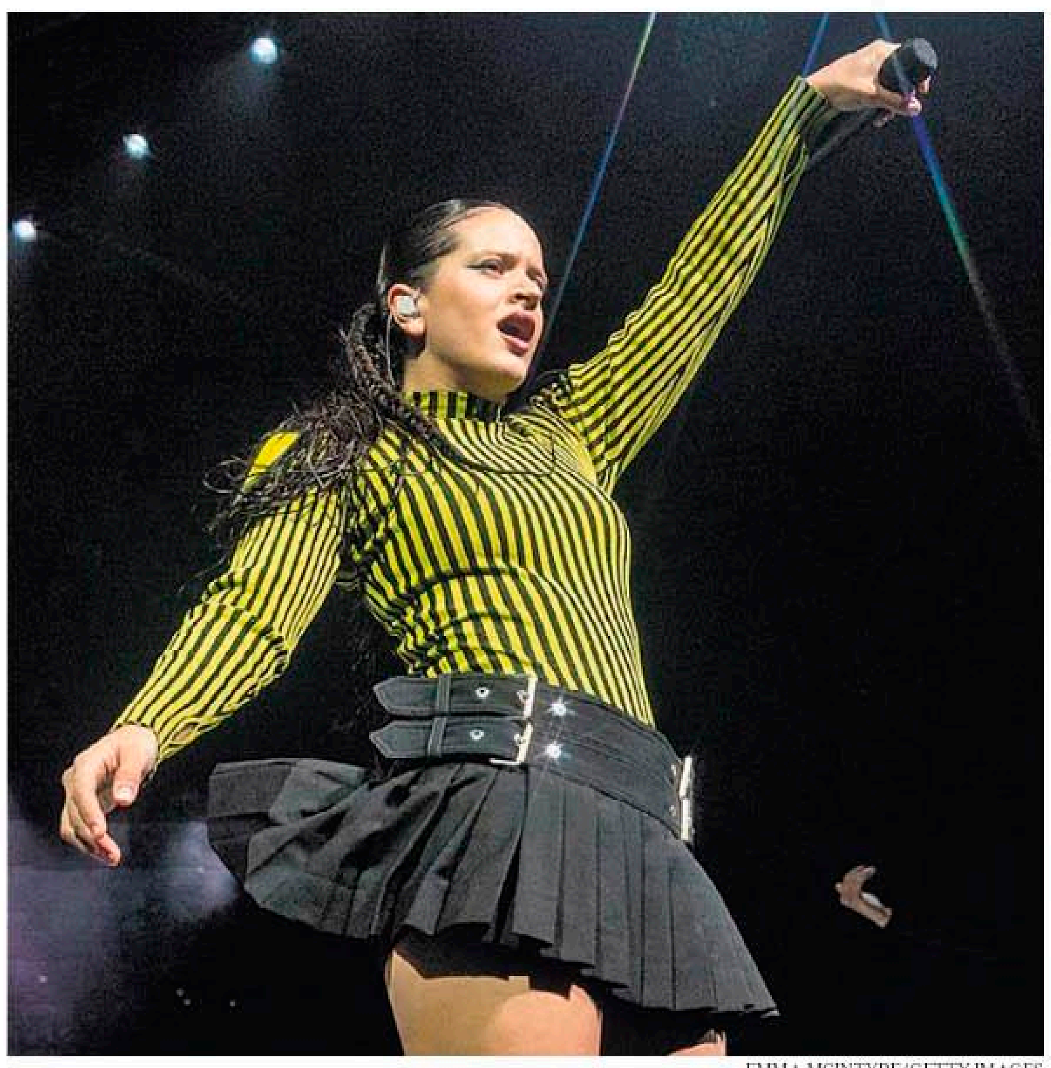
Singing A Song Of Snubs

The Grammys spurn some of the most inventive young stars.

ANOTHER YEAR, ANOTHER head-scratching combination of nominees for the Grammy Awards, which will be held on Feb. 5 in Los Angeles.

On the 65th annual show, Beyoncé leads all eligible artists with nine nominations stemming mostly from her "Renaissance" album. That ties her with her husband, Jay-Z, as the most nominated artist in Grammys history, with 88 total. (Beyoncé has won 28 times, although not in one of the top all-genre categories since 2010.) Just behind her in this year's count are other modern perennials like Kendrick Lamar (with eight nominations), Adele (seven)

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



EMMA MCINTYRE/GETTY IMAGES

Rosalía's album "Motomami," one of the year's best-reviewed discs, was in some ways marginalized by the Grammy nominations.

A Gallery Owner Is Looking Ahead

Larry Gagosian has assembled a board of advisers to help him formulate a succession plan.

By ROBIN POGREBIN

It is hard to imagine an art world without Larry Gagosian in it. Gagosian, a mega dealer, who started in the 1970s by selling posters on the street, represents some of the most important artists of our time (Cy Twombly, Helen Frankenthaler, Richard Prince), but he has also come to symbolize — and set the tone for — a sexy gallery scene of museum-quality shows, glamorous exhibition openings and high prices.

While his company is privately held, its revenue is widely estimated at $1 billion. As one collector put it, there are two people in the art world who require only a first name: Larry and Andy (as in Warhol).

But people in the art world have long wondered how Gagosian's empire will survive without Gagosian himself. Every one of his 19 galleries in seven countries bears the stamp of his shrewd taste in art, his spare, elegant aesthetic. Gagosian is a strong — somewhat opaque and occasionally prickly — personality with clear opinions. But he turns 78 in 2023, raising the question of a succession plan.

Now Gagosian finally seems to be forming one. In the past year, he assembled a board of directors to help him think through the future of his business. In addition to seven of his key associates and Gagosian himself, the board has 12 outside members from various industries, all of them collectors. These include Evan Spiegel, the chief executive of Snap; the artist Jenny Saville; the financier J. Tomilson Hill, who is the chairman of the Guggenheim Museum; Glenn

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An Actor Asserts A Right to Be Seen

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

from his father's unconditional trust. When he asked his father why he had enrolled him in the acting class, the seemingly ambiguous response struck a chord.

"He told me, 'I saw something in you,'" Huerta recalled. "For me the significance of that phrase was that my father was fully seeing me, that he had his eyes set on me always."

Long before Marvel Studios put wings on his feet, Huerta had earned his stripes, working for more than 15 years on both sides of the border in acclaimed independent titles like "Sin Nombre," "Güeros" and "Son of Monarchs."

Still, Huerta admitted that he had often suffered from impostor syndrome as a result of the hostility that brown-skinned actors face in the Mexican entertainment industry. The fact that he didn't receive a formal acting education from a major institution also didn't help.

'The success of this movie tears down the arguments of racist and white supremacists in Mexico, and everywhere, who claim brown skin doesn't sell or that representation doesn't sell.'
TENOCH HUERTA MEJÍA

A watershed moment came when Huerta was cast as the lead in the searing 2011 thriller "Days of Grace," directed by Everardo Gout. To prepare for the demanding role of a police officer losing himself to violence, Huerta enlisted in the Ecatepec police academy without fellow cadets knowing he was doing research.

Not only did the visceral performance earn Huerta his first Ariel Award for best actor (the Mexican film academy's equivalent to the Oscar), but it convinced him of his own hard-fought talent.

"That movie changed my life because it was where I first saw myself as an actor and started building my life around the fact that I was an actor," he said. "Before that I couldn't see it."

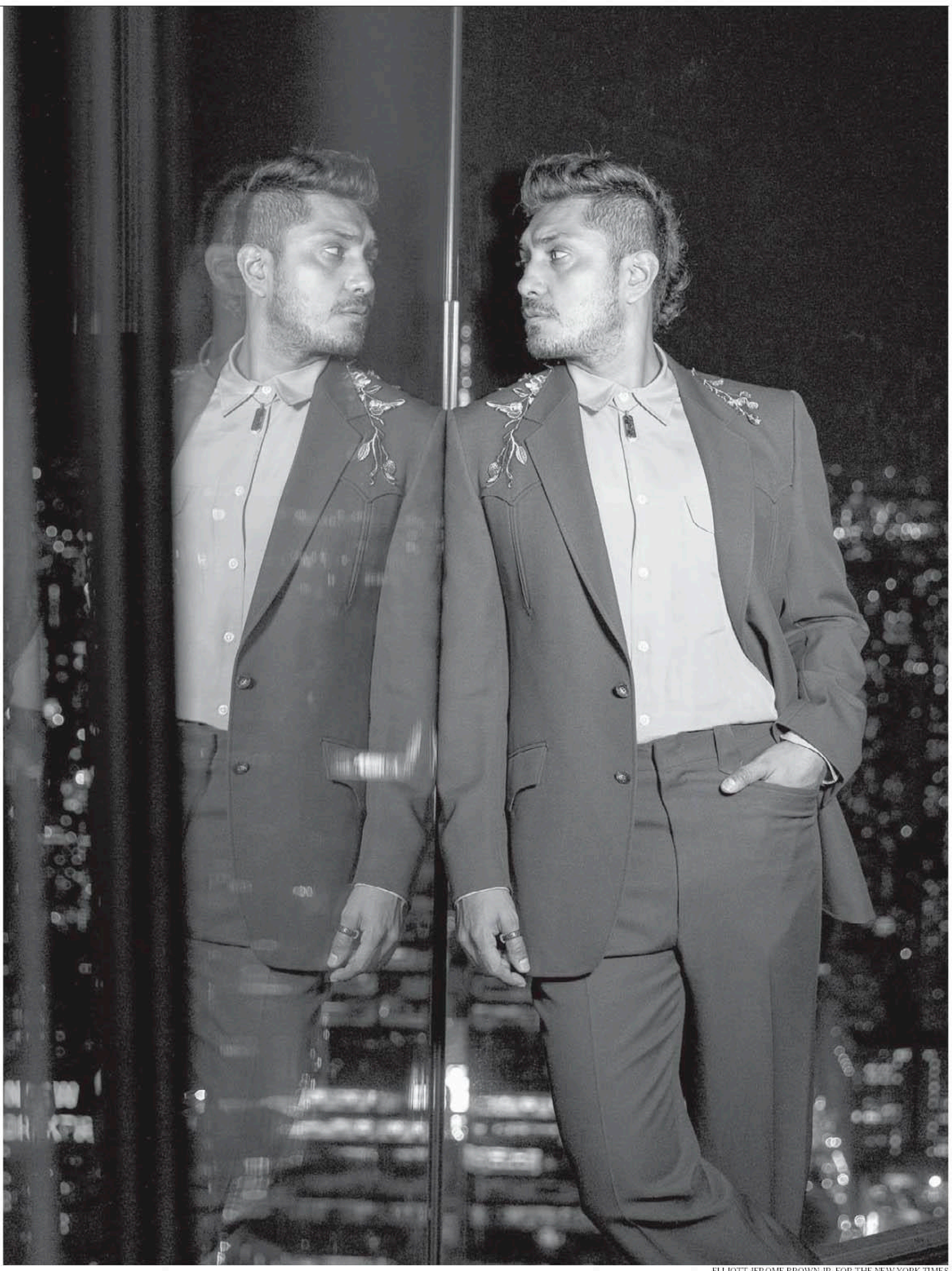
Gout, who had first worked with Huerta on a video clip several years before, sees his friend's rising profile as a personal victory.

"I'm so happy about everything that's happening with Tenoch right now," the director said by phone. "Finally other people are seeing what I saw in him around 15 years ago. His success validates all my decisions of fighting to have him in many of my projects."



ELI ADE/MARVEL STUDIOS

Tenoch Huerta Mejía, top right and above with Mabel Cadena in a scene from "Black Panther: Wakanda Forever."



ELLIOTT JEROME BROWN JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

One such battle occurred when Gout was hired to direct "The Forever Purge," the 2021 installment in the hit Universal Pictures franchise in which Huerta played a hero in disguise.

"I told the president of Universal that my actor was Tenoch and I refused to see anyone else until they proved to me there was someone better than him for the character," Gout said, adding, "Fortunately, it worked out and they didn't fire me."

He said that what Huerta brought to every project, regardless of the part, is inner beauty and generosity with other actors.

"His performance as Namor is so great because he imbues the character with his own identity," Gout added. "He always has the same smile and the same way of speaking, so he grounds the character on something palpable — real humanity." (The two are collaborating again on the Netflix series "The Chosen One.")

On "Wakanda Forever," the director Ryan Coogler witnessed both Huerta's devotion to the process as he learned the multiple skills needed to play Namor — the actor didn't know how to swim before he was cast — and the gravitas of his screen presence.

"He was working in two languages that are not his first, English and in Yucatec Maya, while performing with prosthetics 15 feet underwater," Coogler said. "He is a true chameleon and one of the most impressive actors I've ever worked with."

Offscreen, Huerta is an antiracism activist who uses his platform to demand reparations for brown-skinned Mexicans, whether they identify as Indigenous or not. He profoundly related to how proudly Namor embraced and protected his Mayan origins.

"I'm the child of Mesoamerican civilizations, even if my veins have blood from many parts of the world," Huerta said. "In terms of my identity, culturally and emotionally, I am tied to, shaped by and in sync with my history, with my heritage"

The actor's first name, Tenoch (pronounced teh-NOTCH), which he shares with a 14th-century Aztec leader, comes from the Náhuatl language and translates to "stone prickly pear." The name, the actor believes, is evidence that his father saw their Mexican identity as inextricable from its Indigenous foundation. "Since you are Mexican, I'll give you a Mexican name," Huerta's father told him.

The prevalent racism in Mexican society, Huerta said, is the living consequence of the cultural genocide that European colonizers perpetrated against Indigenous peoples in the Americas. Through intercultural mixing, they tried to sever the population's ties to their Indigenous forebears.

"They taught us to be ashamed of our brown skin, to despise brown-skinned people, to mistreat Indigenous people, to feel ashamed of our ancestors, and I can no longer tolerate that," Huerta said. "There was nothing wrong with us. They didn't have to force us to speak Spanish. They didn't have to try to Westernize us."

He addressed these issues in a book intended to empower young readers. Released this year, "Orgullo Prieto" ("Brown Pride") uses anecdotes, both as a victim and a perpetrator of discriminatory behavior, to explain concepts of antiracism.

That "Wakanda Forever" features Indigenous, brown-skinned characters with supernatural abilities living in a realm allows anyone who connects with Huerta's principles to finally feel respectfully represented. The film also challenges media companies and artists in Latin America and beyond to rethink their portrayals and inclusion of people of color in their projects.

"The success of this movie tears down the arguments of racist and white supremacists in Mexico, and everywhere, who claim brown skin doesn't sell or that representation doesn't sell," Huerta said. "It's beautiful to see ourselves represented in a different way."

On social media platforms, particularly on Twitter, Huerta is the target of racist attacks every time he shares his views on social justice. The release of "Wakanda Forever" has exacerbated that. Their vitriol, he said, proves him right.

"The entire antiracist movement is a train that has been gaining momentum for 500 years," he said. "Those hateful tweets are like pellets from a BB gun trying to stop this train. I'm about to premiere one of the most anticipated movies of the season, do you think those comments have stopped me?"

Huerta and other "Wakanda" performers from Mexico like Mabel Cadena and Josué Maychi "have the opportunity of giving inspiration to new generations so that they can realize that our differences in heritage, social classes or skin color are not limitations," said the actress Yalitza Aparicio, who has been on the receiving end of racist vitriol since drawing attention for her Oscar-nominated role in "Roma." "I hope other projects continue to include great people who represent all of what we are as Mexicans with dignity."

Embodying a Mesoamerican godlike character in a Marvel movie has given Huerta one of his greatest satisfactions. When his 9-year-old daughter, who rarely watches his films, saw his likeness in the Funko Pop figure of Namor, she validated his entire career in single instant.

"She told me: 'Dad, now you are an actor! There's a Funko of you,'" Huerta recalled with a boisterous laugh.

"The hate stays in the haters, and we exercise our ability and right to be happy," he said. As the Indigenous filmmaker Luna Marán says, he added, "'Let happiness be our best revenge.'"

FILM REVIEWS

Master of Light

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 23 minutes. Watch on HBO Max.

In the documentary "Master of Light," George Anthony Morton recalls a difficult upbringing in Kansas City, Mo. "If there was a neighborhood drug house, that was where we lived," he says. His struggling mother, Tela, had him at 15. But Morton says that he "always escaped through art" and that teachers recognized his potential and encouraged his talent.

His chance at becoming a professional artist was deferred: He spent his 20s in prison on a drug conviction. Still, he painted while incarcerated. Once released, he trained at the American branch of the Florence Academy of Art. He says he has a feeling of survivor's guilt.

This documentary, from the Dutch filmmaker Rosa Ruth Boesten, who shares a "film by" credit with Morton, follows him as he pursues his painting career, drawing particular inspiration from Rembrandt and Egyptian art. He works at being a good father to his daughter, Nuri, and maintaining a relationship with his partner, Ashley, who, he says, wasn't "exactly raised to be partners with someone who spent time in prison." He attends therapy on camera.

Throughout, he navigates his complicated relationship with his mother. He wants to paint a picture of her, but the tension between them remains high, not least because she was involved in his arrest. The thesis of the movie — that art can be restorative and help overcome cyclical, systemic failures — might seem trite. But Morton's devotion to his painting and his loved ones makes it difficult not to be moved.

BEN KENIGSBERG



HBO

George Anthony Morton working on a self-portrait in "Master of Light."

Stutz

Rated R for frank language. Running time: 1 hour 36 minutes. Watch on Netflix.

CRITIC'S PICK

In 1956, the poet H. D. published "Tribute to Freud," an appreciation of her psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud. Now, the actor and director Jonah Hill celebrates his therapist in "Stutz," his involving documentary about Phil Stutz, who co-wrote the book "The Tools" with Barry Michels.

"Stutz" takes place in the therapist's office. (Or does it?) But here, Hill asks most of the questions, some of them — but not all — about the visual techniques that Stutz employs in his solution-based practice. Even before Stutz (who has tremors) says as much, it becomes clear that a Parkinson's diagnosis likely informed his sense of therapeutic urgency.

Although Hill intended the documentary to mimic a session, he admits to Stutz early on that he's run into a directorial — and therapeutic — snag. This slightly meta moment is the first of many in a film that skillfully navigates vulnerability, brainy insights and artistry.

Hill's nods to filmmaking tricks add to the sense we're sharing in something authentic: a portrait of affection. The cinematographer Christopher Blauvelt's crisp, predominantly black-and-white images, and the composer Emile Mosseri's score accentuate the director's tender regard.

If you're wondering if "Stutz" wrestles with the stuff of psychotherapy, fear not. Stutz shares a great deal about his parents, as well as the death of his 3-year-old brother when he was 9. And Hill relates parts of his own story — one shaped by body-image issues but also by the sudden death of his brother, Jordan Feldstein, in 2017. Hill's mother even visits the therapist's office-set and handles what might have been a hot-seat reckoning well.

LISA KENNEDY

Memories of My Father

Not rated. In Spanish, Italian and English, with subtitles. Running time: 2 hours 16 minutes. In theaters.

In the Oscar-winning director Fernando Trueba's treacly melodrama, "Memories of My Father," the titular memories are mostly positive — and often unabashedly reverential.

Based on the acclaimed memoir by the Colombian writer Héctor Abad Faciolince, and similarly prone to hagiography, the film straddles two eras: Faciolince's adolescence in Medellín in the 1970s, and his young adulthood in the '80s up until 1987, when his father, the doctor and human rights leader Héctor Abad Gómez (Javier Cámara), was assassinated.

"Memories" focuses on the younger Héctor's coming-of-age as shaped, seemingly entirely, by his father: his love, his lessons, his absences. As a rambunctious but dutiful 12-year-old, Faciolince is played by Nicolás Reyes Cano, while Juan Pablo Urrego steps in as the disgruntled adult version.

The events of the '80s unfold in black and white, a comment on Faciolince's more embittered worldview relative to that of his idyllic middle-class childhood characterized by boundless affection and an exposure to the arts.

These halcyon days are captured in warm earthy colors, with production design by Diego López Mesa summoning the family home with vivid details — religious iconography and jazz records; posters of American rock bands in the room of one of Hector's five sisters. The cinematographer Sergio Iván Castaño's camera glides around Medellín with a sense of dreamlike wonder.

The immensely complicated political legacy of the period — ravaged by conflicts between left and right-wing factions and the emergence of guerrilla movements — plays second fiddle to the filial tribute. Trueba owns it, in a sense, by invoking the image of a narrow lens: the childhood plotline opens with Hector surveying his family members through a tube.

Perhaps Colombian audiences don't need the history lesson, but skimping on the context in this case also makes the film's mawkish impulses more glaring and grating, especially as Trueba shifts his observant domestic drama into something of a political rallying cry — a tepid one, at that.

BEATRICE LOAYZA

Bad Bunny Anchors an Explosive Year for Latin Music

Many Spanish-language artists are finding big new audiences on streaming and on tour.

By BEN SISARIO



THEO WARGO/GETTY IMAGES

The top nominee at the 23rd annual Latin Grammy Awards on Thursday is the Puerto Rican superstar Bad Bunny, with 10 nods for "Un Verano Sin Ti," his chart-topping, streaming-dominating release that is the year's most popular LP.

But for the wider Latin music business, Bad Bunny is the cherry on top of an extraordinary year on streaming services and on tour, by artists including the singers Karol G, from Colombia, and Anitta, from Brazil; genre-crossing innovators like the Spanish pop disrupter Rosalía; and regional Mexican bands like Grupo Firme.

Long seen as a niche field, Latin music is continuing to penetrate fresh markets, with streaming platforms helping artists reach broad new audiences, who in turn are buying up hundreds of millions of dollars in concert tickets.

"Latin music is having a moment," said Gary Gersh, a longtime music executive who is the president of global touring and talent for the concert company AEG Presents. "But it's not going away. The doors have been blown off."

In the first half of 2022, sales of Latin music recordings reached $510 million in the United States, a new peak, according to the Recording Industry Association of America, and may pass $1 billion by the end of the year. Of that total, 97 percent came from streaming — indicating an audience that is young and technologically connected. According to Spotify, half its users around the world stream at least one Latin song each month.

In the past, Latin artists were few and far between among the industry's top tours, but that is changing. According to data from the trade publication Pollstar, the top 100 tours around the world for the first three quarters of 2022 include 13 Latin artists who together sold $436 million in tickets — up from nine with $205 million in sales for the same period in 2019, the last comparable year before the pandemic. (Pollstar's tracking period each year begins in late November.)

Bad Bunny, 28, is the leader of Latin's current wave, with sales and tour numbers that routinely rival and beat English-language pop titans like Taylor Swift and Beyoncé. His latest album notched 13 weeks at No. 1 on the Billboard 200 chart, more than any other title this year. According to industry estimates, his two tours in 2022 — one hitting arenas, the other stadiums — will top the year-end global touring list with around $400 million in combined sales, putting him in the league of giants like Swift and U2.

Born Benito Antonio Martínez Ocasio, Bad Bunny — his stage name comes from a childhood costume — represents a new kind of pop star, with an eclectic style and broad, global appeal. After emerging in 2016, he built his career as a featured guest, rapping and singing on songs by artists like J Balvin and Cardi B, before releasing his first album, "X100PRE," in 2018.

Since then he has become inescapable, appealing not only to Spanish-speaking listeners but to fans whose personal playlists may also be dotted with hip-hop, K-pop and everything else. Meanwhile, Bad Bunny has expanded into a global brand. He has an Adidas sneaker partnership, has wrestled in the W.W.E. and is set to star in the new Marvel superhero movie "El Muerto," from Sony Pictures — while also being outspoken about political and social struggles in Puerto Rico.

"I don't think that pop culture really has borders or language barriers anymore," said Jbeau Lewis of United Talent Agency, who books Bad Bunny's tours. "I don't know that a fan necessarily draws a distinction between BTS, Taylor Swift or Bad Bunny."

When tickets to his arena outing, El Último Tour del Mundo, were put on sale in April 2021, it became one of the fastest-selling tours in Ticketmaster's history, and a key data point showing the industry that fans were eager to return to concerts amid the pandemic.

Lewis said that while those tickets were being sold, he could see in Ticketmaster's back-end system that, for some shows, up to 300,000 fans were waiting to buy more — a sign of huge demand. That day, Lewis said, he called Noah Assad, Bad Bunny's manager, and told him, "Oh man, we need to hold some stadiums for next year."

From top: Bad Bunny, who has 10 nominations for the Latin Grammy Awards on Thursday; Jhonny Caz, left, and Eduin Caz of Grupo Firme; and Karol G.



MARCO UGARTE/ASSOCIATED PRESS



AMY SUSSMAN/GETTY IMAGES

The recent Latin touring powerhouses encompass a wide spectrum of aesthetics and traditions. Karol G, known for neon-colored wigs and her Caribbean-flavored hit "Provenza," made a splash at Coachella in April — where she paid tribute to past Latin crossovers like "Macarena" and Daddy Yankee's "Gasolina" — and then sold $70 million in tickets for her North American tour. That may be the biggest haul in history for a Latin female act.

Maná, a veteran Mexican rock band, played 12 times at the Kia Forum in Inglewood, Calif., as part of a residency this year, and just announced a North American arena tour for 2023. Grupo Firme, a Mexican banda group that has collaborated with pan-Latin pop stars like Camilo and Maluma, has sold $57 million in tickets in 2022, according to Pollstar.

Historically, artists singing primarily in Spanish — or any language other than English — faced a huge barrier to success when it came to radio. But streaming has provided a path around that obstacle, and many Latin acts have flourished as a result. An early indication of this shift was "Despacito," the 2017 song by Luis Fonsi and Daddy Yankee, which became a huge hit on YouTube — though its success was partly attributable to a radio-friendly remix featuring Justin Bieber.

"The barrier is not the same as it used to be, that you had to have a song at radio so you can sell lots of tickets," said Gersh, of AEG. "I think we are going to see more music that isn't sung in English reaching English-speaking kids, and we're probably going to see more English-language music reach into other countries where English isn't the first language."

"That, to me, is the real alternative music — it's the alternative to the mainstream," added Gersh, who was one of the figures who kicked off the alternative rock explosion in the 1990s by signing Nirvana to DGC Records.

Radio is still lagging behind this wave. While Bad Bunny is the king of streaming — he was the most-streamed act on Spotify in 2020 and 2021, and stands a good chance of retaining the title this year — he is only the 119th most-played artist on Top 40 radio stations so far this year, according to the tracking service Mediabase.

To some extent, demographic shifts can help explain the growth of Spanish-language music. As of 2021, 19 percent of the total U.S. population identified as Hispanic, up from 16 percent in 2010 and just 5 percent in 1970, according to census data and the Pew Research Center.

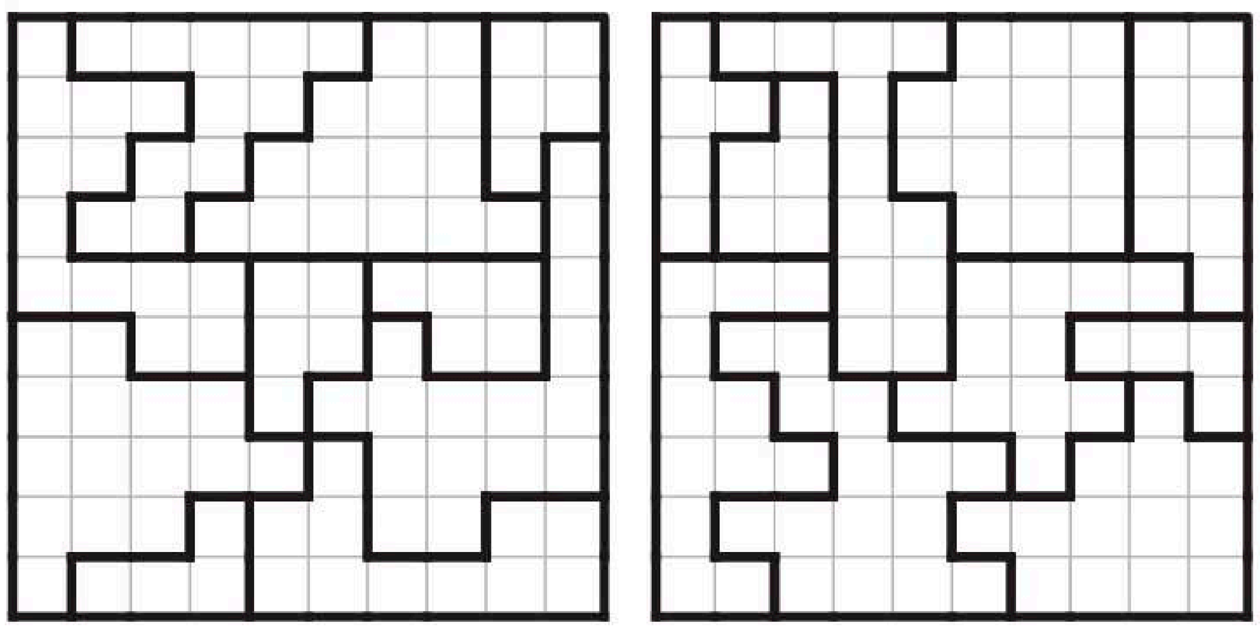
Those fans can straddle multiple genres and cultural spaces, said AJ Ramos, a longtime radio and streaming programmer who is the head of artist partnerships for Latin music at YouTube. Using himself as an example — born in the United States, speaking Spanish at home in a Salvadorean family, but growing up a hip-hop fan — he describes those culture-straddling fans as representing "the 200 percent."

"You have Mexican artists like Yahritza y Su Esencia and Fuerza Regida, who embrace American culture and embrace Latin culture, living in both spaces," Ramos said. "That audience will go from a Kendrick Lamar record to a Fuerza Regida record." (Yahritza y Su Esencia, a trio of siblings whose Mexican family migrated to an agricultural area of Washington State, is up for two Latin Grammys, including best new artist.)

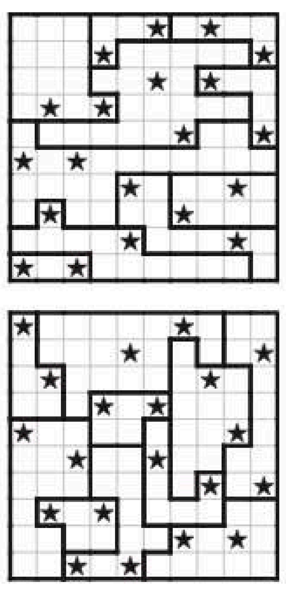
That success — enabled by streaming and social media, and now amply visible on tour — will only continue in the future, said Maykol Sanchez, an executive at Spotify who handles Latin artist and label partnerships.

"In the past, it was harder," Sanchez said. "Today, you can have an artist from Chile that has a hit, and it happens globally on Spotify, creating a space for that artist grow bigger."

Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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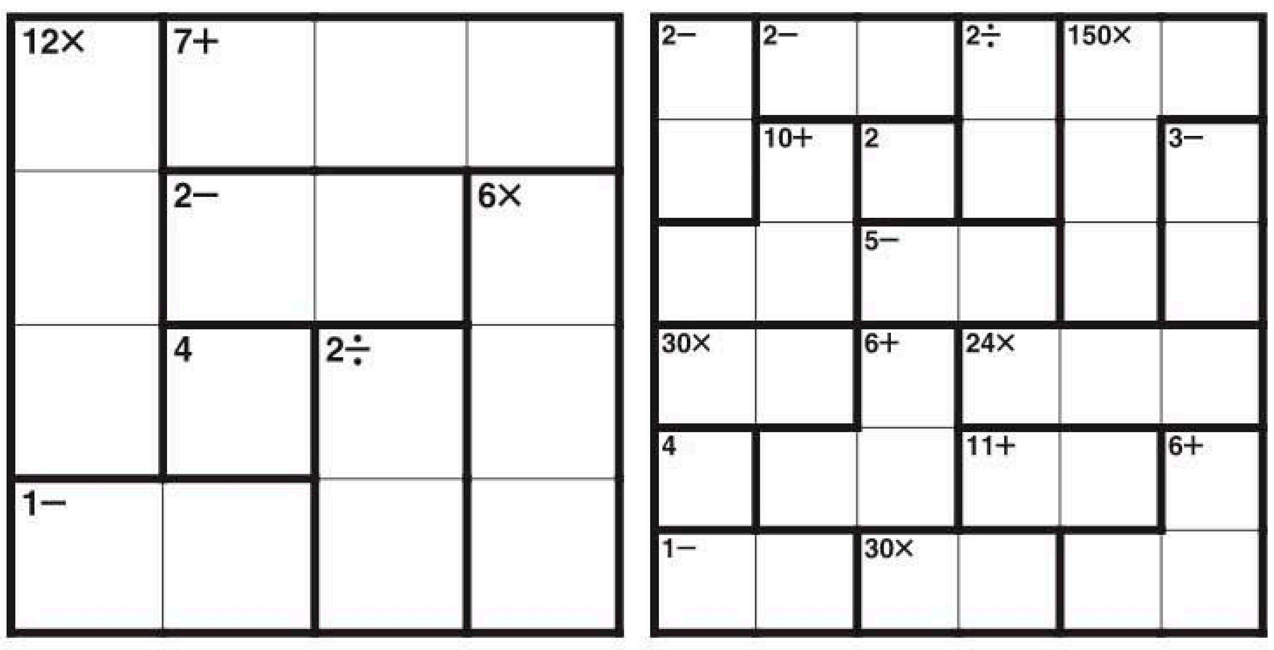
Cryptogram

RSTG SYDDFDFCXKPOTO XWT PGNTWRXCTW, CSTYW TXWO XGN GFOCWYEO QEFOT CF JTTD CST RXCTW FPC.

PUZZLE BY BEN BASS

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER 1. Omen (momentum) 2. Mica (amicable) 3. Ache (bachelor) 4. Harm (pharmacy)

KenKen



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

3	4	2	1
2	3	1	4
1	2	4	3
4	1	3	2

4	1	5	6	2	3
1	2	4	3	6	5
2	3	1	5	4	6
3	4	6	1	5	2
6	5	2	4	3	1
5	6	3	2	1	4

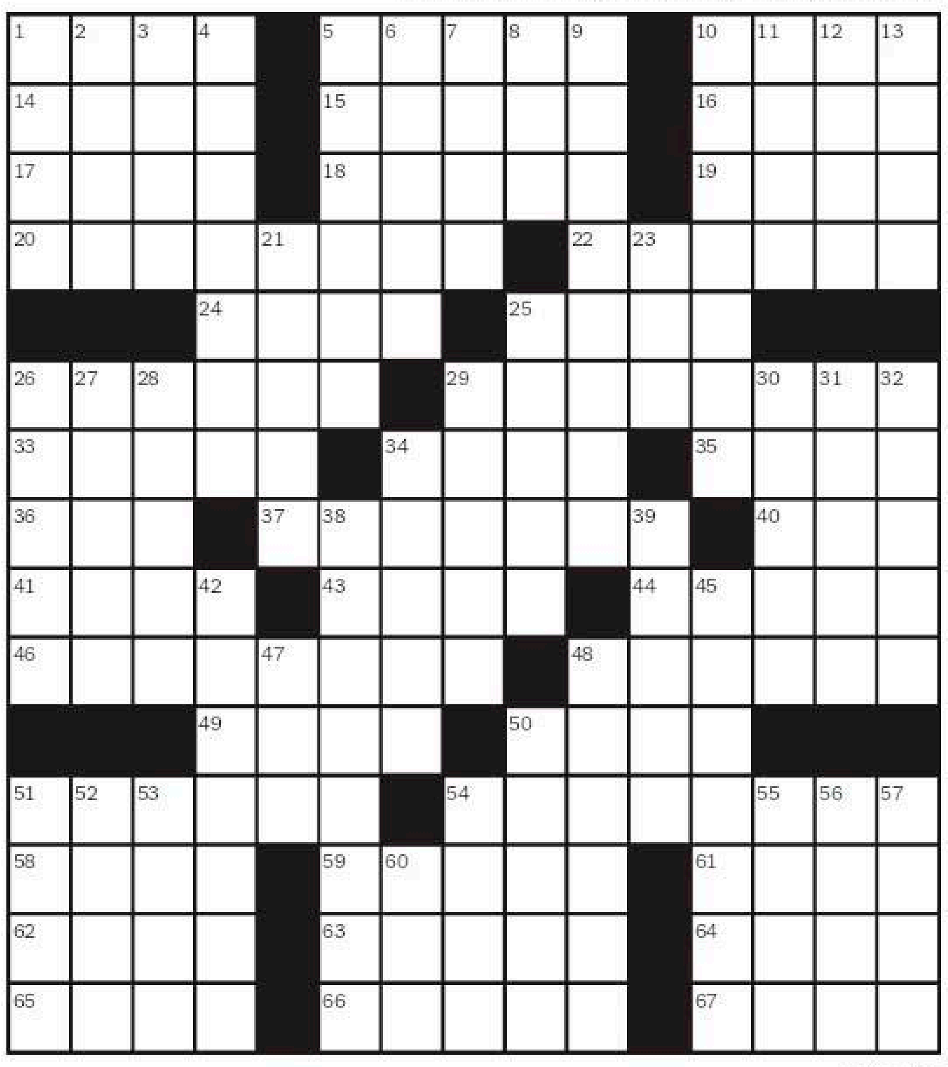
Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

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Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY HOANG-KIM VU AND JESSICA ZETZMAN



11/17/22

ACROSS

1 Future yearling
5 Things at camp that can be camp
10 Anxiety about not being included, in modern lingo
14 Start to trust?
15 Coming along behind
16 Something fishy, maybe
17 Oprah, for one
18 *Spike ___
19 One of about 3.5 in a league
20 *Call again, on a rotary phone
22 *They may be split or bitter
24 *Promo
25 Phaser setting
26 *Cut of pork
29 "There's something we need to discuss"
33 Body parts rested at the optometrist's
34 Peeved
35 Suffix in the names of seven U.N. members
36 Martial arts tier
37 *Grammy-winning Jones
40 Saison après le printemps
41 Combo's rhythm section, maybe
43 N.Y.C. cultural institution
44 Cheer
46 Mount that inspired the song "Funiculì, Funiculà"
48 *Important closing document
49 Shade
50 Actress Kirke of "Mozart in the Jungle"
51 *Lead-in to a texter's perspective
54 French-developed form of cooking in a precisely temperature-controlled water bath
58 Raise the ___
59 *#5 on Billboard's Best Rappers of All Time list
61 College founded by Henry VI
62 Hindu goddess of power
63 Cameron in Hollywood
64 *One parked at a park, in brief
65 "Now!"
66 Goaded, with "on"
67 Award that sounds like two letters of the alphabet

DOWN

1 In play
2 Years ago
3 Small building block
4 *Flax fabric
5 Like a monkey
6 Press and fold
7 "___ be all right"
8 Lowest part of a glacier
9 Southern quencher
10 *Courier and Papyrus, for two
11 One-eyed Norse god
12 Shape
13 Magnetite and malachite
21 Natural theology
23 There are two in the Greek "Mnemosyne"
25 ___ da Estrela (Portuguese mountain range)
26 High-def flat screen
27 Facility formerly known as Orchard Field
28 Some iPads
29 Hovers
30 Starters
31 Serving that might have a "solid heart" or "simple tulip" design
32 Homophone of 6-Down
34 Proboscis
38 Notability
39 They may be dug in
42 See 45-Down
45 With 42-Down, "I don't want anything to do with this!" ... or a hint to the answers to the starred clues
47 Energy
48 Put out
50 Musical partner of Lerner
51 Nettles
52 Aquatic protection
53 Greeting in Granada
54 Unfresh air
55 Couple
56 College ___
57 Member of a noted septet
60 Uru. neighbor

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SIR ACRES WANES
ICI CHANT EBILL
TYPOMANIA BUCKO
SHEKEL ARCADE
KONG ARCTOPHILE
ITSONME SPADAY
AESOP BEBE
PANTOPHOBIA
GUAC DIANE
UNWISE SALETAG
MANDUCATES TOGO
STRODE PLATED
OCHRE METROLOGY
SPOIL INSET RAE
SAPPY TYKES OPS

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The Grammys: Singing a Song of Snubs

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
and Brandi Carlile (seven).

But a closer look at the 91 categories reveals a curious interplay between charttoppers, critical favorites, Grammys pet projects and throwback icons. Here to break down the most surprising inclusions and exclusions: The Times's pop music reporter, Joe Coscarelli, and the pop critics Jon Pareles, Jon Caramanica and Lindsay Zoladz.

JOE COSCARELLI Last year's record of the year nomination for Abba — the group's first in any category ever — was one thing. Cute, even. But record of the year again (this time for "Don't Shut Me Down") and album of the year (for "Voyage") in 2022? This is where you lose people.

And yet . . . what the Grammys seem to have been hinting at for the past few years, and the Recording Academy and its voting members have mastered this time around, is splitting the difference between the Grammy-iest of out-of-touch Grammys choices and enough crowd-pleasers to keep fans sated and the CBS show entertaining.

Big looks in the top three categories for Beyoncé's "Renaissance," Harry Styles's "Harry's House," Kendrick Lamar's "Mr. Morale & the Big Steppers" and even Steve Lacy make sense. These dominated the conversation this year. But what of the Grammys' hobby horses and big names who maybe aren't releasing their best work? Brandi Carlile is back, bringing her to 24 nominations in the past five Grammy cycles; Mary J. Blige is up for album and record; and Coldplay is in album of the year for the second time in three years?

Bad Bunny, meanwhile, gets a much-deserved album nod for "Un Verano Sin Ti," but couldn't squeeze Bonnie Raitt out of song of the year ("Just Like That"), or Doja Cat out of record ("Woman")? And where are the big swings at the Grammys being its own star-maker? Rosalía's "Motomami," by some counts the best-reviewed album of the year, is relegated to best Latin rock or alternative album, of which it is arguably neither.

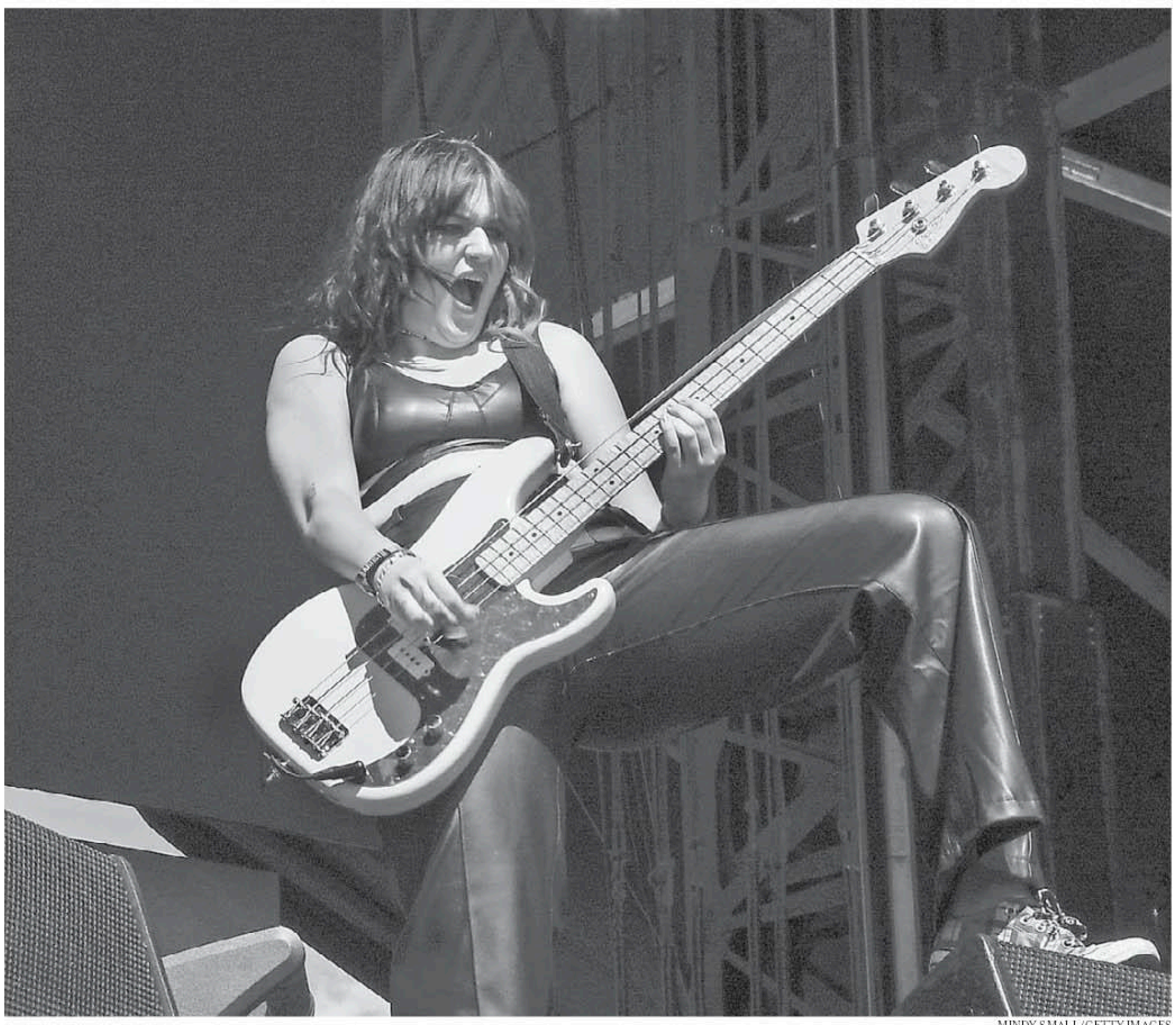
What's going on here?

LINDSAY ZOLADZ Yes, the album of the year category is overcrowded once again, but it does include an interesting rematch of 2017, when Adele's "25" beat Beyoncé's "Lemonade" — and Adele, somewhat awkwardly, admitted from the stage that she thought Beyoncé should have won. Like Macklemore's infamous and admittedly much more embarrassing text message to Kendrick Lamar three years prior, the racial politics of that moment were difficult for many viewers to ignore.

In the years since, and perhaps as an attempt at compensation, the Grammys have gone out of their way to fête Beyoncé. Never forget the cringe felt 'round the world when, in 2021, Trevor Noah ambushed her to announce she'd just tied a Grammy record. (We'll always have the memes.)

That's an undeniably impressive stat, but Joe, as you point out, Beyoncé hasn't won in a "major" category since 2010, when "Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)" took home song of the year. Of course, that feels like 10 Beyoncés ago by now. It's high time the Grammys awarded her at least one of the Big Four again, and if "Renaissance" were to win album of the year, it would make her just the fourth Black woman in history (alongside Natalie Cole, Whitney Houston and Lauryn Hill) to take home that statue.

Plus, they'd actually be rewarding an adventurous, artful and immaculately recorded piece of work — imagine that! I do still think "30" is Adele's best album, by the way, but if she beats Beyoncé again I fear whatever is left of Twitter by February will actually implode. Do you guys think these two are the album front-runners, or could we get an upset?



MINDY SMALL/GETTY IMAGES



KRISTIN BRAGA WRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, Gayle's "Abcdefu" seemingly got its start organically on TikTok. But that was not the case. Above, Zach Bryan, considered a candidate for best new artist, was nominated only in the best country solo performance category.

JON PARELES I agree with you that they're the front-runners, Lindsay: Adele because she exemplifies old-school, ballad-loving, acoustic-musicianship-forward, previous-winners Grammy preferences. And Beyoncé not only for the quality of the album, but because at least some Grammy voters realize that they have embarrassingly slighted her.

But now that the Grammys have expanded the top categories to 10 nominees, there's always the chance that a plurality — rather than a consensus — will vote in a winner. If R&B partisans are split among Beyoncé, Mary J. Blige and Lizzo, and big-voiced ballad aficionados split between Adele and Brandi Carlile, maybe "Harry's House" could win the kind of craftsmanship-loving, familiarity-craving constituency that gave Silk Sonic last year's record and song of the year. With the Grammy votership, you never know.

Meanwhile, any way you look at it, the past year of pop — particularly the Grammys eligibility year that ended on Sept. 30 — belonged to Bad Bunny's "Un Verano Sin Ti." A No. 1 album that's still in the Top 5 half a year after its release, and is still sending singles up the chart. A huge stadium tour. Songs that are grounded in reggaeton but head in unexpected directions. An unmistakable voice. A message of inclusivity. Even an eye-popping fashion sense. And for the Grammy voters who generally respect careerism, Bad Bunny has a serious work ethic; "Un Verano Sin Ti" is his fourth studio album in five years, his fifth if you count his duo album with J Balvin.

Yet for the Grammys, somehow, none of the individual tracks on a forward-looking blockbuster album rated a top nomination? Not a promising sign for his album of the year chances.

It seems to me that Bad Bunny faces multiple handicaps in the Grammysphere. One is the language barrier; he's sticking to Spanish lyrics and not volunteering to dilute his music for a crossover. (Rosalía faces that same barrier.)

Another is youth: his own (he's 28) and his audience's. And then there's his 21st-century musical style; he's not doing a disco revival, a Laurel Canyon revival or a grunge revival. So the Grammy nominations grudgingly admit that his album has been a phenomenon — but they don't really want to listen to it. It looks like they only made it to the first track (but not the best) of the album, "Moscow Mule," for a token best pop solo performance nomination.

JON CARAMANICA Generally, I find it encouraging that the TikTok to Grammy pipeline has been fully constructed — more and more great music is going to get its start on the app, and eventually there'll be little distinction if any between music that feels natural there and music that thrives out in the rest of the world, even in the ears of musty Grammy voters.

Now, that said, seeing Gayle's "Abcdefu" nominated for song of the year (a songwriting award) is still lightly shocking, if only for its origin story. It began with a TikTok in which Gayle, appearing to respond to a fan prompt to write a breakup song using the alphabet, delivered the sketch of what would become "Abcdefu." Online hackles were raised when it was revealed that the alleged fan was in fact an employee of her record label.

Now look, marketers gonna market, and despite this act of skulduggery, "Abcdefu" is catchy and funny, if not radical. A clever ruse, but not one of the year's 10 best written songs.

PARELES Speaking of noticing TikTok, Rosalía's second nomination is for best music film — uh, film? — with her TikTok Live performance of "Motomami." Both nominations marginalize a major album.

COSCARELLI Although the TikTok special, as with most things Rosalía, was exceptionally well-executed.

CARAMANICA On the one hand, the year's two most meaningful superstar albums — Bad Bunny's "Un Verano Sin Ti" and Beyoncé's "Renaissance" — received nominations for album of the year, as did the latest from Kendrick Lamar, Adele and, yes, Harry Styles. But there are some names totally absent from the major category nominations: Drake and the Weeknd, who declined to submit their music for award consideration. (Drake is nominated four times as a collaborator.)

For what it's worth, I'm not sure either of them would win in any of the major categories this time. But the Grammys' relationship to contemporary Black music has been in tatters in recent years, and seeing a nominee list that doesn't include some of the most crucial performers of the day puts a giant asterisk on the results.

COSCARELLI Instead, we get a healthy offering of veterans in the biggest categories — even a surprise nomination in song of the year for "God Did," the Jay-Z-led State of the Union address from DJ Khaled's latest album.

CARAMANICA That song has been out for about three months, and I'm almost finished getting through that four-minute Jay-Z verse.

PARELES I want to stick up for Bonnie Raitt's "Just Like That," which took one of the wildcard slots for song of the year. (The song, and the album named after it, are also contenders in the down-ballot — and worthy — American roots categories.) No, it wasn't a smash radio hit, and the quiet, fingerpicking arrangement could have fit on any Bonnie Raitt album from the past five decades. But unlike some of the other gimmicky or nostalgia-milking songs in that category, it's honestly touching — and definitely the best song ever written about a heart transplant. I'd scratch some other songs from that category well before this one. If awards shows are about quality and discovery as well as ratifying sales, this was a good choice.

CARAMANICA Perhaps the most egregious oversight in the best new artist category is Zach Bryan, whose album "American Heartbreak" has been one of this year's great commercial surprises, still hovering in the top 15 of the Billboard albums chart six months after its release.

Bryan would seem to be a Grammy gimme — a self-made singer-songwriter working outside familiar genre lines. (His single "Something in the Orange" did receive a nomination for best country solo performance.) But instead the nominee list in that category, excluding the Brazilian star Anitta and the Eurovision breakout Maneskin, is a baffling array of moderately successful performers. (Unrelated, it's a pleasant surprise to see Hitkidd and Glorilla nominated in best rap performance for "F.N.F. (Let's Go)," truly one of the year's most exuberant hip-hop hits.)

PARELES Call me obsessive, but I always look at the higher-numbered, out-of-prime-time categories, where a Grammy Award is going to directly boost a touring band's meager guarantee or lead people to click on a stream. And really, Grammys, can't you do better?

Point your audience toward something amazing and unexpected. Global music, formerly world music, defaults to familiar names from West Africa (Burna Boy, Angélique Kidjo) and India (Anoushka Shankar) — yet please, Grammys, why not Congotronics International or one of countless other albums released by tiny, determined labels?

There's no "global music" from Indonesia, Brazil, Morocco, Haiti, Kenya? And the regional roots category just pits Louisiana against Hawaii — is that all there is to surviving local styles in the United States? No, these won't be chart busters. But yes, they matter.

ZOLADZ Similarly, Jon, I always look at the rock and alternative categories, with some . . . bemusement, if not actual hope. Best rock song is usually a confusing hodgepodge of hey!-we-recognize-that-name elders and interesting young upstarts, and this year is no exception: The beloved Baltimore hardcore band Turnstile's nomination for the pummeling "Blackout" is a fun surprise — though it's maybe also confirmation that, had the song come out 20 years earlier, it would have sounded unoffensively at home on alternative rock radio.

That Chad Smith, the Red Hot Chili Peppers' drummer, plays percussion on not one but two of the nominated songs (RHCPs' own "Black Summer," and the Ozzy Osbourne/Jeff Beck collaboration "Patient Number 9") pretty much tells you what you need to know about the rest of the category.

Best alternative music album is also a grab bag of veterans and newcomers, with the ubiquitous British indie-rockers Wet Leg representing the new guard. Wet Leg's five (!) nominations are sure to further rankle the folks who have already been grumbling about their overnight success — but isn't that what best new artist is for? I'd love to see them upset in that category, or really any other. Maybe for once the Grammys are trying to recognize new talent in the moment rather than waiting 10 or 50 years to issue a perfunctory mea culpa.

CARAMANICA As a lover of popular music, can I stress how powerful it is to be alive during a time in which Abba is releasing some of the most vital songs out there? Two consecutive years of Grammy nominations that are in no way a corrective for the way the group was overlooked in its heyday, and are 300 percent for sure premised upon the quality of its new music. Ah yes, I vividly remember all the hours my dear friends and I spent singing "Don't Shut Me Down" at the top of our lungs. The road trips down tree-lined roads I soundtracked with "Voyage," a long-player that never wavers. Three cheers for Abba, a group that absolutely, indisputably deserves these nominations in the most important all-genre Grammy categories.

COSCARELLI You OK, Jon?

CARAMANICA Rarely, if ever.

Chastain to Star in 'A Doll's House'

By MICHAEL PAULSON

Jessica Chastain, who won this year's Academy Award for best actress, will return to Broadway next spring to star in a revival of Henrik Ibsen's classic play "A Doll's House."

Chastain, best known for her work on television and in film, previously starred on Broadway in a 2012 revival of "The Heiress." She won the Oscar for her portrayal of the title character in "The Eyes of Tammy Faye."

Billed as a "radical new production" in publicity materials, this revival of "A Doll's House" will feature a script revised by the playwright Amy Herzog, who wrote the well-received Off Broadway plays "4000 Miles," "Belleville" and "Mary Jane." It will be directed by Jamie Lloyd, a Briton whose recent American forays — bracing (and starry) revivals of "Betrayal" on Broadway in 2019 and "Cyrano de Bergerac" at the Brooklyn Academy of Music earlier this year — won critical acclaim.



HUNTER ABRAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jessica Chastain, here after the Oscars in March, is returning to Broadway.

Lloyd's production company had planned to stage this show, with Chastain starring, in London, with rehearsals set to begin in 2020, but that idea was torpedoed by the pandemic.

Specific dates and other cast members have not yet been announced. The producers are Ambassador Theater Group, Gavin Kalin Productions and Wessex Grove.

"A Doll's House," which was first staged in Denmark in 1879, has been produced on Broadway 13 times previously, according to the Internet Broadway Database, though it's been a while: The most recent production was in 1997.

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GIA KOURLAS | DANCE REVIEW

Reason to Celebrate, but Two Years Late

Garth Fagan features his work, but also choreography by the talented Norwood Pennewell.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

DURING THE PANDEMIC, Garth Fagan Dance's 50th anniversary came and went. But now, in its 52nd year, the company has reason to celebrate — and to shine — with a return to the Joyce Theater. Some programs feature a triumphantly titled premiere by Fagan, "Covid Virtue, Victory."

The new work — Fagan, 82, created it just before the Joyce season — is a poignant, moody duet, set to John Coltrane. From the start, the arresting Keisha Laren Clarke Gray uses her limbs to dramatic effect. Crossing the stage forward and backward along a diagonal path, with her elbows anchored ever so slightly behind her back, she is consumed by solitude. Her intensity is magnetic; her expression, internal — at least until John Crim, a dancer with legs for days, joins her.

Garth Fagan Dance
CRITIC'S PICK
Through Sunday at the Joyce Theater; joyce.org

Until now, the landscape has seemed like Gray's private space, but gradually Crim eases himself into her world with lifts that pin her to him in an elevated arabesque — it's quite beautiful — or, with her body stretched like an X, turning her in the air. The more she relaxes, the more their bond grows, and by the final note, they're braided together, two bodies finding peace as one.

It's lean and tightly edited, qualities that the program, at nearly two and a half hours, could have used more of. Perhaps the length was an effort to get as many dancers onstage as possible, but the evening, with six works and two intermissions, lost its grip by the time Fagan's three-part "Translation/Transition" (2002) rolled around at the end.

That's a shame: It's a lovely, spirited work with many standout moments, including a teasing duet between Gray — who also appeared for a silent, haunting solo — and Steve Humphrey, the company's senior member. (The multigenerational aspect of Fagan's group remains part of its joy.) But as entrancing as the dancing was, the night was too long.

Fagan is the Jamaican, Tony Award-winning choreographer of "The Lion King," which is still running on Broadway, but up in Rochester, N.Y., where his company and school are based, he is known for something else: cultivating a legacy of Black dance and a generation of dynamic performers.

In the case of Norwood Pennewell, the company's rehearsal director and a veteran dancer — his vivid elegance remains as the years add up — Fagan has produced something even more rare: a choreographer.

Opening night featured two Pennewell works, the first, "Dreamer" (2021), a quartet set to sometimes mystical-sounding music by Baljinder Sekhon II, in which a man (Davente Gilreath) finds himself in states of reverie under the gaze of three women (Gabrielle Samuel, Sabrina Cmelak and Daria Clarke). Are they witnesses? Guardian angels?

There's a playful simplicity to the way Pennewell has costumed his cast — in leggings and tanks in mainly warm earth tones — that contrasts with the quiet, introspective quality of the choreography and with Gilreath's final image, a contorted kind of squat, which he heroically holds until the curtain falls. In Pennewell's second dance, "Contact Fours," a world premiere, the playfulness is more vivacious, with a score that has a livelier beat, featuring flowing jazz by Marc Cary, DJ-9 and Masters of Groove.



Above, John Crim. Left, from left, Gabrielle Samuel, Sabrina Cmelak, Davente Gilreath and Daria Clarke in "Dreamer."

The word "groove" is appropriate here as Pennewell opens the dance, another quartet, with a phrase he riffs on throughout: a weighted, bouncy skip and a sharp kick of the leg. Wearing Wendell C. Carmichael's handsome unitards with crisscrossing geometric tops for the women — the dynamic duo of Samuel and Cmelak — the dancers appear like brush strokes on a canvas: each distinct yet utterly fluid whether spinning away from the others in a solo or conjoined in a same-sex duet.

"Contact Fours" feels like summer: Crim, sinking in a juicy plié, holds his long arms to either side and winds them in tight circles like a surfer without a wave. Gilreath has a serpentine calm, while Cmelak and Clarke slide into softer, more sultry patterns. As "Contact Fours" progresses, it loosens up, showing the lineage and progression between Fagan and Pennewell.

Drawing on the grounded strength of modern dance, the vivacity of Afro-Caribbean dance and the meticulousness of ballet, Fagan's technique lends itself to feats of balance, which seem impossible until you see them with your own eyes. Even in their wobbles, there is something life-affirming about the effort the dancers display as they fight for equilibrium while leaning into a tilt or, with a burst of speed, spin across the stage with their arms down by their sides and seemingly little momentum. How do they do it?

It's striking to see dancers move in such a specific, singular way when so much in contemporary dance and ballet seems interchangeable from one company to the next, and generic choreographic moves can start to feel like mush. Fagan's dancers use their feet. They would never, say, slither around a stage in socks. *Feeling* the floor is part of what locates their strength and gives it roots.

Yes, the opening program was much too long, but the architecture of a Fagan body is an astounding sight. And what you won't see? Mush.

ALEXIS SOLOSKI | THEATER REVIEW

Disaster Lurks Outside. Inside Isn't Much Safer.



RACHEL PAPO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ken Leung, left, and Jeb Kreager in "Evanston Salt Costs Climbing," directed by Danya Taymor at the Pershing Square Signature Center.

Existential dread haunts a road crew during the dark days of winter.

TO BE HUMAN is to be buffeted by forces beyond our comprehension and control — matter; energy; the habits of our cells; God, if God is for you. How should we live when our lives can be upended by a thing as savage and ordinary as the weather? How can we be decent to each other when catastrophe waits somewhere just beyond the circuit of our vision or even worse, inside ourselves?

These are the abiding concerns that Will Arbery, a Pulitzer Prize finalist, has delineated, at oblique angles, in his previous plays, "Heroes of the Fourth Turning" and "Corsicana." In "Evanston Salt Costs Climbing," a slightly earlier script now making its New York debut courtesy of the New Group, these themes sprawl center stage. The rest of the show can only huddle at the fringes.

"Evanston," directed by Danya Taymor at the Pershing Square Signature Center, opens in 2014 in the break room of the salt dome facility in Evanston, Ill. It's January, and Peter (Jeb Kreager) and Basil (Ken Leung) are downing paper cups of coffee before they begin a long shift salting the local roads. Salting is a human response to an inhuman threat, an imperfect assurance of safety. It is also an environmental calamity, spoiling the ground around and below the roads. (When warriors salted the fields of their enemies, this wasn't a friendly gesture.) So Maiworm (Quincy Tyler Bernstine), an assistant director of public works, has tasked herself with finding a greener option, though this alternative might put Peter and Basil out of a job.

Evanston Salt Costs Climbing
Through Dec. 18 at the Pershing Square Signature Center, Manhattan; thenewgroup.org. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

The play follows these characters for three Januarys, a framing that suggests a work of ultrarealism, informed by Arbery's own chill years in Evanston, where he attended graduate school. But Taymor and Arbery often slide the work into spaces more dreamlike and dire, closer in spirit to Arbery's debut play, "Plano." "Evanston" is often a comedy, though only insofar as you find paralyzing dread funny. Polar vortexes threaten the city, but all of the characters — the fourth is Maiworm's stepdaughter, Jane Jr. (Rachel Sachnoff) — reckon with internal tempests as well. Peter wants to kill himself. Jane Jr. has suicidal thoughts, too. Maiworm suffers from crippling anxiety. Basil, an immigrant from Greece, seems the most well-adjusted of the bunch, at first. But his sadness is bottomless, too.

"I wake up every night with my own hands choking me to death," he says.

Basil hallucinates a woman in a purple hat, and that woman keeps appearing, infringing on the tidy quadrants of Matt Saunders's set, with its orderly demarcations of work and home. (The shadowed lighting is by Isabella Byrd, the cold-weather costumes by Sarafina Bush.) These dips into surrealism feel flagrant and not perhaps fully earned.

In Arbery's other plays, this sense of looming catastrophe lurks offstage, just beyond the lights, unembodied. It's front and center here, and so on the nose that it distorts the face around it. All of the characters shout their existential terror — "I want to kill myself," "We can't breathe, we're burning up," "There's something under everything and it's making us all want to die" — when whispers might have been enough. Similarly, the sense of the numinous, of potencies beyond human understanding, is made explicit and manifest, particularly in an early conversation about dark energy. Arbery and Taymor are hitting us over the head with this stuff. How can we not feel concussed?

Yet "Evanston" has moments of grace and sympathy, mostly owing to the conviction of its performers. Each goes all-in on the characters' failings, neuroses and flashes of generosity. Leung, who makes the overwrought HBO show "Industry" very nearly watchable, lends both blitheness and depth to Basil, even while saddled with an outlandish accent. Kreager, as his workmate, speedskates on the surface of Peter's despair, wisely playing the manic top side rather than the abyss below. Bernstine is always a revelation and always a gift, a sandpaper-voiced actress of good sense and great humanity with an ability to make the absurd seem perfectly plausible. Sachnoff, the cast's most junior member, tasked with the play's least articulated character, has less to do, as Jane Jr. is adrift, infirm of purpose. But she demonstrates a flair for physical comedy and delivers a fine, if not profoundly necessary, a cappella rendition of "Angel From Montgomery."

There's another track running through "Evanston," one borrowed from Jane Jacobs's "The Death and Life of Great American Cities," Maiworm's favorite book. Jacobs even appears here, though just how and in what form would be telling. (It's a big theatrical year for Jacobs — she also appears as a character in "Straight Line Crazy" at the Shed.) "Evanston" is only glancingly interested in how cities are organized and maintained: That's the play's occasion, not its troubled heart. But Arbery seems moved by the claim that cities only function when they are created by and for each other, that form mutual care is what makes civic life — any life! — possible. Maybe that's no match for danger within and danger without, for Jane Jr.'s dreaded "something under everything." But it's something to cling to when the storm comes in.

This Casting Director's Mission Is Right Royal

Robert Sterne tells how he finds the actors who make 'The Crown' so spot-on.

By REGGIE UGWU



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KEITH BERNSTEIN/NETFLIX

Few shows have made casting decisions more central to their appeal than "The Crown." The plot twists are public record. The motifs are as old as time. The real-life characters, famous since birth, have generated enough biographies and magazine covers to fill several royal libraries.

It's not so much *what* is portrayed in the House of Windsor drama, which debuted its fifth season on Netflix last week, but *how* and *by whom*?

For six years, that last question has been the preoccupation of Robert Sterne, the show's lead casting director. Sterne, working closely with the series's creator, Peter Morgan, has helped turn "The Crown" — which refreshes its cast every other season, bringing in older performers as the timeline advances — into a reliable showcase for some of Britain's best actors. He has won two Emmys for casting a drama series — for "The Crown" last year and for "Game of Thrones" in 2019. The show's alumni — including Claire Foy, Matt Smith, Vanessa Kirby, Olivia Colman and Emma Corrin — have collectively amassed 14 Emmy nominations and six wins.

For Seasons 5 and 6, Morgan and Sterne introduced a new list of players for a third and final time: Imelda Staunton as Queen Elizabeth II, Elizabeth Debicki as Princess Diana, Dominic West as Prince Charles, Jonathan Pryce as Prince Philip and Lesley Manville as Princess Margaret.

In a recent phone interview, Sterne discussed the challenge of continually rebuilding the show, what matters more than physical verisimilitude and the hardest role to crack. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

You've had high-profile gigs before, including casting all eight seasons of "Game of Thrones." Has "The Crown" been more difficult?

It's been a great and unique challenge. Casting every actor every two years is not something I've ever had to do before. You're always keeping your antennae open for who might be good for something down the line. There are breaks every two seasons, but I suppose I've probably spent about five months of each year working on this show alone.

This season starts with a cameo by Claire Foy, the show's first Elizabeth, before introducing Imelda Staunton as the queen circa 1991. How much are you guided by the previous actors on the show, and how much are you looking to real-world evidence from the period?

You have to do both. You have to maintain a kind of double vision. You want a certain visual similarity because these are real people, and that's fun for the audience. But there's also this idea of the baton being passed from actor to actor, which I think has been an interesting creative challenge for them, trying to rise to that bar. We thought of Imelda as the perfect successor to Claire's and Olivia's portrayals — an ordinary woman in extraordinary circumstances who is still quite relatable and warm and funny.

What's your process with Peter Morgan?

He's really great because he's very rigorous and specific about what he's going for, which is a real gift for a casting person. Usually he says: "This is what I'm thinking. What do you reckon?" and we'll have a conversation not only about who these characters are but what function they serve in his scripts. There's a brilliant research team who creates a biography of every character with photos from the time they appear in the story. I'll throw a bunch of ideas at him and then we'll go back and forth. Eventually, we'll start meeting people and try them out and see what happens.

Meet the new Windsors, clockwise from top left: Senan West, Will Powell, Dominic West, Elizabeth Debicki, Theo Fraser Steele, Claudia Harrison, Sam Woolf, James Murray, Lesley Manville, Jonathan Pryce, Imelda Staunton and Marcia Warren. At right, Khalid Abdalla, left, and Salim Daw play Dodi and Mohamed Al-Fayed in the latest season.



> **'There's also this idea of the baton being passed from actor to actor.'**
> *ROBERT STERNE*

How do you know when you've found the right person?

You can just see that they've made a connection with the writing and the character, and something just clicks. Quite often, it's not necessarily what you imagined, but there can be a kind of joy in that discovery. Then you go and talk to everyone about whether this version is the right version.

The actors you've chosen usually have some resemblance to their characters but are just as often quite different physically. What do you look for beyond physical resemblance?

It can be quite complicated. The scripts are the starting point. You're looking for actors who you think can inhabit a character in all its complexity as written. People who can transform, who have the technical skill and talent to do a really detailed version of the character. Peter never writes in simplistic terms, so you want somebody who's going to rise to that and enjoy it.

This season, the Queen is in her late 60s. She's confronting multiple cataclysmic events, both within her family and on the global stage. What was important to capture in this phase of her life?

I suppose it's keeping the family together when so many elements are coming together to make it self-destruct. Adapting to the modernization that is required of the royal family in the new '90s culture. There's a very interesting kind of turbulence both in the family and politically, with the various media wars taking place, the divorces that are happening, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Hong Kong situation and the international side of things. Imelda Staunton is one of the very best actors that we have in the U.K. and an incredible class act. When she agreed to take on this challenge, we knew that she would just fly with it.

What about Charles and Diana? What did Dominic West bring to the table?

He makes all his characters come fully alive. You sit up when you're watching him and consider the situation the now King Charles is in, both publicly and privately.

And Elizabeth Debicki?

I think Emma Corrin set up Diana in the early years as this person who's struggling to find her feet and her autonomy. This season, we move on to the iconic figure on the world stage — the kind of Mario Testino version, at the height of her power, dealing with divorce and all the other pressures in her life. We had to find an actor who would burn very brightly, and Elizabeth Debicki has not only the most incredible wattage onscreen but the right level of emotional intelligence.

Which actor whom we haven't talked about yet surprised you the most this season?

I am absolutely excited and thrilled by Salim Daw and Khalid Abdalla, who play Mohamed al-Fayed and Dodi al-Fayed. It's a story about father and son and about outsiders, and I think that what they achieve together as a unit is really brilliant.

Which role was the hardest to cast?

Diana in Season 4 took absolutely ages. We could have had anybody, but it had to be the right person. We looked at hundreds and hundreds of people from all over the English-speaking world — America, Australia, the U.K., universities, drama groups, people who hadn't acted before. We took quite a lot of time with that one. It was a role for a newcomer, but they had to grab quite a complicated part.

Several of the previous stars, including Emma Corrin, have gone on to big international careers. Do you take pride when that happens? Is that something you can anticipate at the audition stage?

I'm just focused on what needs to be achieved in the particular situation. But when people do get an opportunity and are able to move on and develop their careers and their creativity, it's a huge pleasure to watch. Total delight, joy and pride.

Logistical Challenge At the Met

American Ballet Theater's summer season to include 'Like Water for Chocolate.'

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ



TRISTRAM KENTON

Anna Rose O'Sullivan in the Royal Ballet's production of "Like Water for Chocolate."

American Ballet Theater hopes to lure audiences next year with a bit of magical realism: The company announced on Wednesday that Christopher Wheeldon's "Like Water for Chocolate," based on the novel by the Mexican writer Laura Esquivel, will anchor its summer season at the Metropolitan Opera House.

The three-act ballet, a coproduction with the Royal Ballet that garnered largely positive reviews when it premiered in London this past June, will be performed a dozen times in New York, beginning June 22. It is part of a four-week season that also includes three repertory classics: "Giselle," "Swan Lake" and "Romeo and Juliet."

"Like Water for Chocolate," an extravagant ballet with a plot involving cooking and magic, is the most logistically complex work that Ballet Theater has ever staged. The company's summer season will feature fewer performances this year to allow time to build and take down sets.

"Just visually, it's going to be quite a spectacle," said Susan Jaffe, the incoming artistic director and a former principal with the company. "But the choreography is also very deep."

The season is the last planned by Kevin McKenzie, the outgoing artistic director, who has led Ballet Theater for three decades.

Jaffe, who will begin work next month, said she would make it a priority to feature diverse choreographers.

"There are great storytellers out there that are female," she said, "and we want to give them an opportunity as well."

Ballet Theater hopes the new season will continue to drive its recovery from the pandemic, which forced the cancellation of two seasons and cost the company millions of dollars in anticipated ticket revenue and touring fees.

Ballet Theater returned to the Met stage this past summer, its first season there since the start of the pandemic. The company recently finished its season at Koch Theater at Lincoln Center, which included the premiere of Christopher Rudd's "Lifted," featuring an all-Black cast and creative team.

Audience attendance for the Koch season this year was up about 6 percent compared with last year, though it remains below prepandemic levels.

Jaffe said she was impressed by the turnout.

"You could feel the gratitude in the audience," she said. "It was palpable."

Kevin Spacey Faces New Assault Charges

British authorities authorize seven more counts against the actor.

By ALEX MARSHALL

LONDON — The authorities in Britain have authorized seven new criminal charges against the actor Kevin Spacey, including three counts of sexual assault, the country's Crown Prosecution Service announced in a news release on Wednesday.

Rosemary Ainslie, who leads the service's special-crime division, said in the news release that all the charges involved the same complainant and concerned incidents that were alleged to have occurred between 2001 and 2004. She had also authorized a charge against Mr. Spacey (right) of "causing a person to engage in sexual activity without their consent," the release said.



Before Wednesday's announcement, Mr. Spacey, 63, was already facing multiple charges of sexual assault in Britain.

In July, he appeared in a London courtroom and pleaded not guilty to those charges, which concern three men, and a judge scheduled a trial to begin on June 6 of next year.

It is unclear whether the new charges will be considered as part of that trial. A spokeswoman for the Crown Prosecution Service said by phone that details of the charges would be sent to Mr. Spacey via mail, and that he would have to appear in a London courtroom to respond to them.

Mr. Spacey is a well-known figure in Britain. He became the artistic director of the Old Vic theater in London in 2004 and continued in that role until 2015.

The actor's representatives did not immediately respond on Wednesday to a request for comment about the new charges.

Mr. Spacey, who won Academy Awards for his performances in "The Usual Suspects" and "American Beauty," has also faced accusations in the United States.

In October, he appeared in a Manhattan courtroom in a civil case in which he was accused of climbing atop the actor Anthony Rapp in 1986, when Mr. Rapp was 14, and making a sexual advances toward him. A federal jury found Mr. Spacey not liable for battery in that case.

A Gallery Owner Is Looking Ahead



THE ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS, INC./LICENSED BY ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Larry Gagosian, a gallery owner, at his home in Manhattan, with "Andy Warhol Self-Portrait," 1986, in the background.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

Fuhrman, a financier who founded the Flag Art Foundation; and Delphine Arnault, the executive vice president of Louis Vuitton who also serves on the executive committee of its parent company LVMH, run by her father, Bernard Arnault, one of the world's top collectors.

"I don't know who will take over for me," Gagosian said in an interview. "It's tricky to have a legacy business, particularly when there's no family. But we have an extremely successful business and we would like to see it live beyond me. This seemed like a step in that direction. I'm not contemplating stepping down or slowing down. It creates a model for the gallery to move forward and it also enriches it right now."

Recently, talk has intensified around what a Gagosian Gallery enterprise will look post-Gagosian. His peers in the field — David Zwirner, Hauser & Wirth, Pace, Acquavella, Nahmad — are family businesses, with a younger generation who could potentially succeed the founders.

Reports have also recently appeared in art publications, saying that Gagosian's empire was for sale or considering an investment from LVMH or the Arnault family's holding company.

Gagosian firmly denied these reports. "There is no conversation going on and I have no plans to sell the company," he said. "I own 100 percent of it, I have no investors and my business is not for sale. I like to control what I've got." At the same time, he said no company would responsibly exclude such a possibility down the line. "If somebody swooped in and wanted to make a major investment," he said, "I think anybody would listen to that."

As to how the new board will affect his concrete plans of succession, Gagosian said it would inform how he approached the future. Precisely what form that future takes remains uncertain. Gagosian has several high-ranking deputies who help him run things already. None of his executives have emerged as a clear successor, although the veteran art dealer Andrew Fabricant, 67, whom Gagosian hired in 2018, now plays a leading role. (Gagosian called him "a great strategic thinker.")

Gagosian said he had assembled the board as a kind of brain trust, with no specific mandate or end game, except to consider questions such as "What can you say about our business and more broadly the art market?" and "How do we move forward as a business? What are the challenges, what are the opportunities?"

During the early locked-down months of the coronavirus pandemic, Gagosian said, he did some serious thinking about the long-time future of his business and how to let go a little more — although he added that he continued to work as hard as he had ever worked.

Getting comfortable with delegating and working more collectively has been an acquired skill. "I resisted because maybe I'm a little more of a lone wolf — I'm a very entrepreneurial guy, I'm independent in my thinking," Gagosian said. "But over the last few years it has given me more time to work on things I'm particularly interested in. I'm quite pleased to see how well the gallery functions. It's taken a lot of stuff off my desk and given me time to work more conceptually and to spend more time with artists. It freed me up. I can't imagine going back to the way it was before."

Saville said she was happy to serve as the "artist's voice" on the board.

"It's very much about finding opportunities for artists, brainstorming about where art is moving," she said. "I don't know if other galleries have outlived their figure. The idea is to create something which gives the gallery a lot of longevity, with the beginning of a shape so it can live beyond Larry."

The trustees, who are compensated, are expected to serve three-year terms, at which point they will rotate off unless Gagosian asks them to stay on. The board — which will meet twice annually — had its first meeting last May and the second one last week.

"It was a way to reach out to people in other areas, people who were insiders and people who were coming from a different perspective, and just kind of broaden the brain pool at the gallery," Gagosian said. "It seemed like a great group of people that I'm comfortable with, that I already have friendships and relationships with. At the last meeting, we had to call it after about three and a half hours — people were still wanting to contribute more. From my perspective, it's been very enriching."

At the most recent board meeting, the members discussed what artists really wanted in a gallery. "What is an artist looking for?" Hill said. "What is a Stanley Whitney looking for or a Rick Lowe or a Jordan Wolfson — why would they go to Gagosian versus other galleries?"

The additional outside board members — all of them collectors — include the screenwriter and director Sofia Coppola and Dasha Zhukova Niarchos, an entrepreneur and investor.

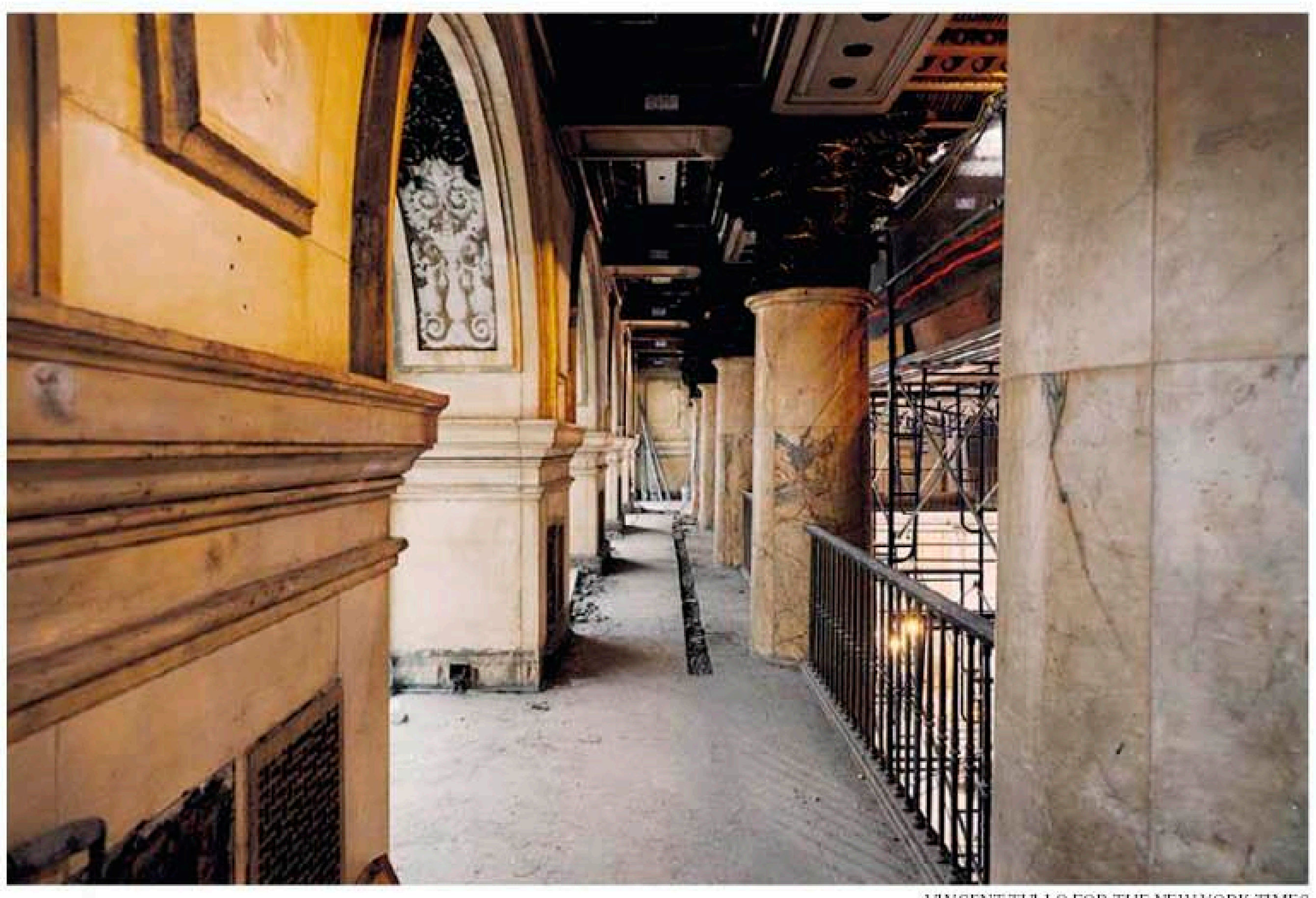
"There is no question in my mind that when Larry is no longer, Gagosian Gallery will continue," Hill said.

At the same time, the knowledgeable, hands-on Gagosian, whom Hill said he worked with for many years, remains difficult to replicate.

"In the '80s, I would go to his gallery because I'd always learn something," Hill said. "And in the '90s, I saw things I couldn't believe I was seeing. My first exposure to Rubens oil sketches was a show Larry did of Rubens oil sketches.

"I bought my first Francis Bacon from him," Hill continued, adding that he also bought his first Picasso, a painting of Picasso's lover Marie-Thérèse, from Gagosian.

"I'd seen it in the retrospective of portraiture at the Museum of Modern Art," he added. "It turned out it was owned by the actor Steve Martin. Steve, who had a great relationship with Larry, said, 'Larry, if you can find a buyer for this over the next week, I'll sell it.' That's Larry."



VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shainman Expands To TriBeCa Landmark

The new gallery will be in the Clock Tower Building and debut with Nick Cave.

By LAURA van STRAATEN

Jack Shainman, a denizen of the gallery district in New York's Chelsea neighborhood since 1997, will expand his footprint beyond Chelsea, to a large historical landmark on the edge of TriBeCa.

When renovations are completed in fall 2023, the Jack Shainman Gallery will make its headquarters in 20,000 square feet of the blocklong Clock Tower Building, the Italian Renaissance Revival building that was once home to the New York Life Insurance Company. Now known as 108 Leonard Street (and the site of luxury condominiums), the building by McKim, Mead & White was completed around 1898 and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

"The space seduced us," Shainman said during a recent tour of the dusty site with his spouse, Carlos Vega, a Spanish-born painter who is taking the creative and logistical lead on the project. "Becoming the custodians of this amazing landmark space is something Carlos and I had to really think about and consider; it's a huge responsibility," Shainman said, while pointing out architectural details that he hopes to retain.

The dealer will retain the upstate outpost known as The School, a 30,000-square-foot former school in Kinderhook, N.Y., that also required extensive renovations, and will continue to mount exhibitions at his space on West 20th Street in Chelsea.

The new gallery will offer multiple exhibition spaces, a library and offices for more than 30 employees across three floors of the Clock Tower Building. The gallery will have a new address: 46 Lafayette Street, reflecting the gallery's entrance on the building's east side.

The building has a titanic Beaux-Arts bank hall that will become the main exhibition space. "It has a feeling of a cathedral," Shainman said, calling it "a cathedral of commerce." He gestured to the ornate, coffered 29-foot ceilings, sweeping staircases and a wall of arched windows.

Vega said that what has most excited him and the other artists to whom the couple has shown the bank hall is how 21st-century art can interplay with the ornate space and its problematic history. (New York Life Insurance once insured the lives of enslaved people as "property.")

Shainman bought the space for nearly $20 million and anticipates an additional $3 million to $4 million for a three-phase renovation. The purchase made sense compared with a 10-year lease in Chelsea, the gallery owner said. The project's architect is the couple's niece, Gloria Vega Martín, who is based in Málaga, Spain.

Shainman represents a large and diverse roster of artists of global acclaim, many of whom address social and cultural themes. They include Kerry James Marshall, Carrie Mae Weems, Hank Willis Thomas, Nina Chanel Abney, El Anatsui, Nick Cave, Toyin Ojih Odutola and Lynette Yiadom-Boakye, along with the estates of Barkley L. Hendricks and Gordon Parks.

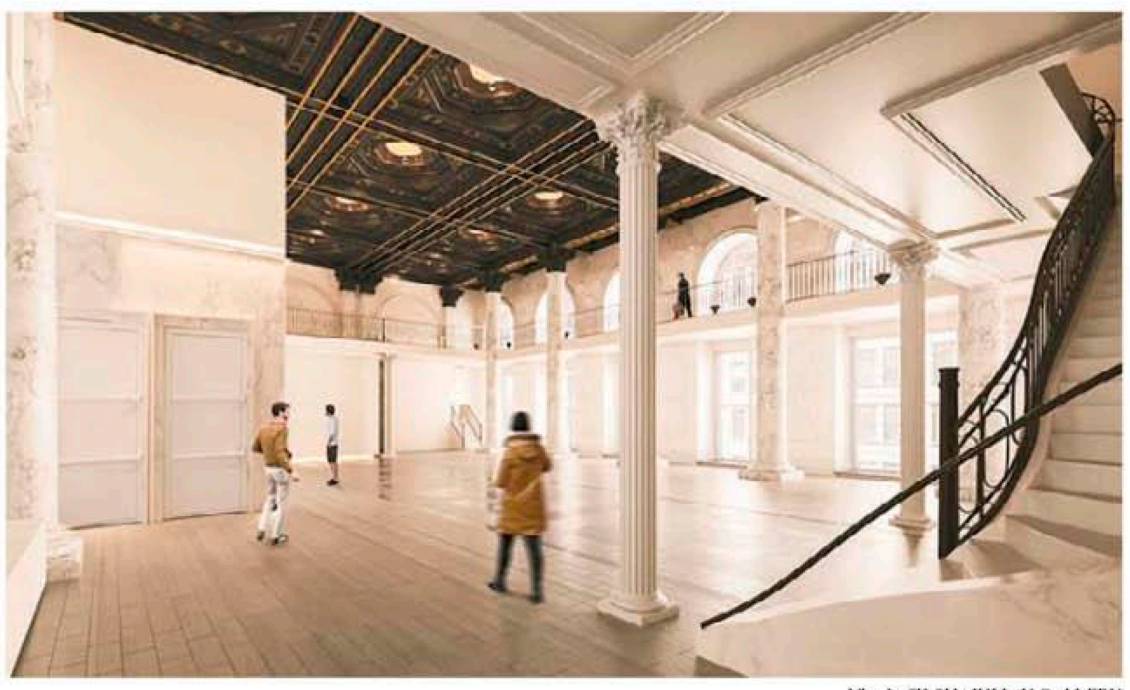
With this move he joins the gallery exodus to TriBeCa that began about six years ago from other parts of New York, notably Chelsea. But Anne-Brigitte Sirois, an expert on real estate for art organizations who assisted the gallery, cautioned that Shainman's move need not be seen as a comment on Chelsea's viability as an art center but as a desire to escape the "rigorous modernist ideals" of the white cube that defines the contemporary art gallery in Chelsea.

The new quarters will put Shainman in the same league as some of the galleries with large homesteads in New York that function as cultural destinations, including Pace (which leases its eight floors), David Zwirner, Gagosian and Hauser & Wirth. The Shainman gallery does not have a toehold across continents like the others do. "I'm not interested in opening galleries across the world," Shainman said, "but it was time to create a gallery, right here in New York where we've been all along, that befits the cultural impact of the artists whose careers we have helped build."

Nick Cave, whom the gallery has represented since 2005, will be the subject of the inaugural show at 46 Lafayette, scheduled for the fall of next year. The artist will premiere large new artworks that will speak to the grandeur of the architecture.



VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



VIA JACK SHAINMAN GALLERY

Above, from left, Jack Shainman and Carlos Vega in their new space in the Clock Tower Building. Top left, the mezzanine. Below left, a rendering of the gallery interior.

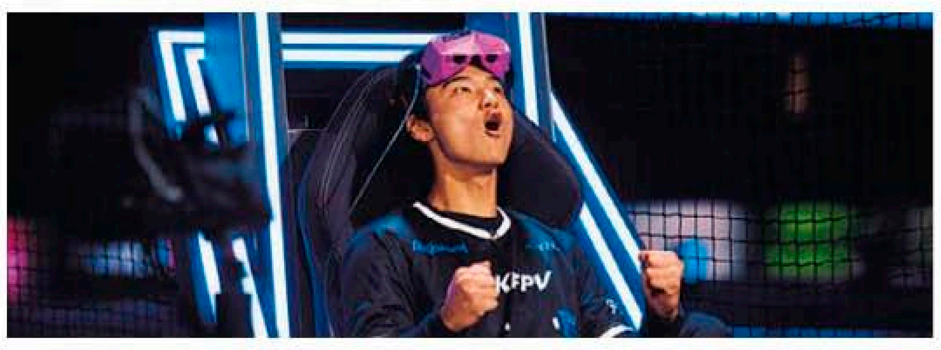


LOUIS VUITTON

2 SHOP MONSTER

Advent calendars offer over-the-top luxury one day at a time. BY MARISA MELTZER





8 FLYING HIGH

Drone racing is becoming competitive. BY ALYSON KRUEGER

3 DETAILS MATTER

In Wakanda, her costumes tell a story. BY VANESSA FRIEDMAN

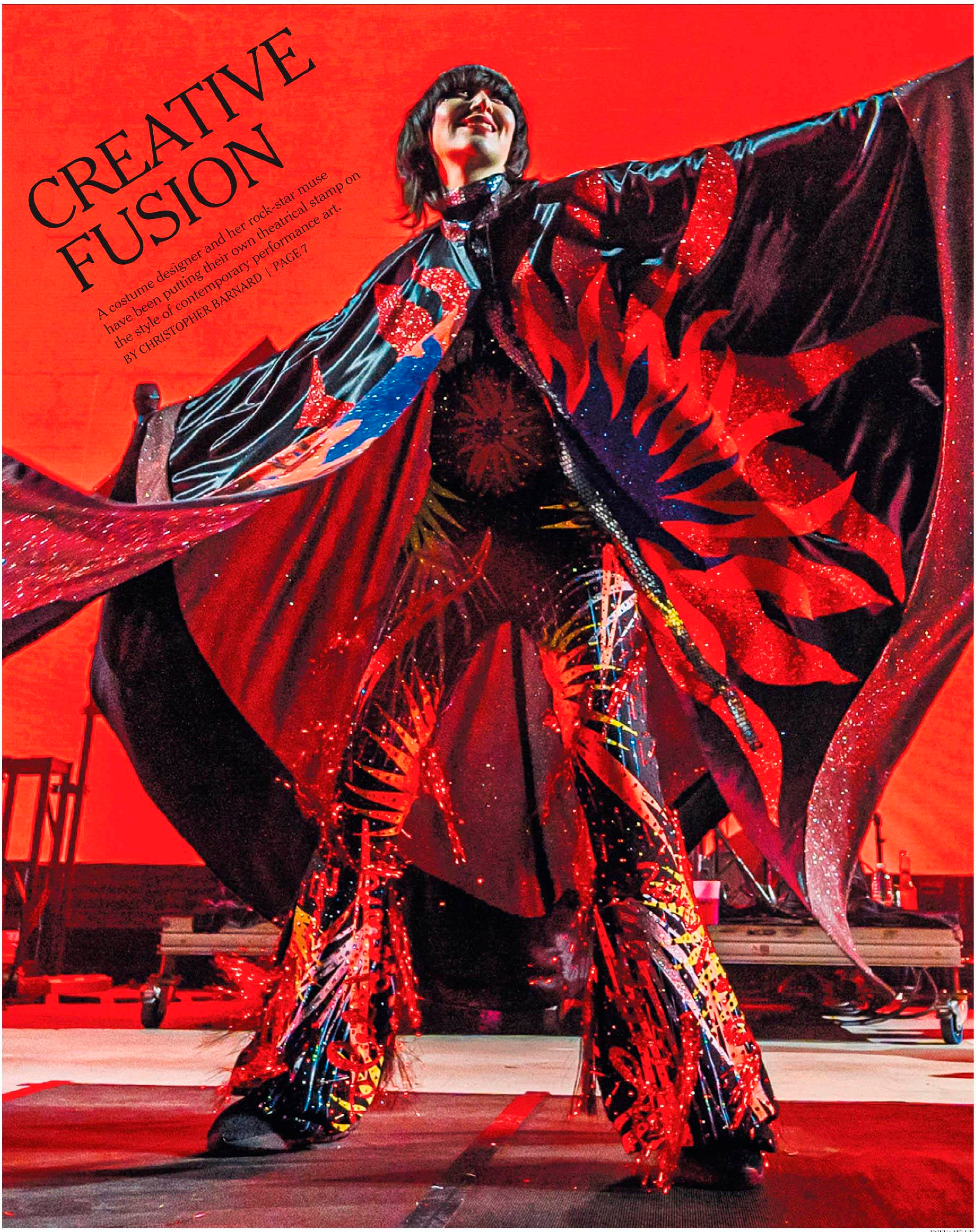
FASHION | BEAUTY | NIGHTLIFE

Thursday Styles

The New York Times

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2022 D1

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JOSHUA MELLIN

The Yeah Yeah Yeahs singer Karen O started collaborating with the designer Christian Joy in 2001. Last month, she debuted one of Ms. Joy's newest costumes, above.

BUCCELLATI
MILANO DAL 1919
MACRI COLOR
"A CHROMATIC BEAUTY"





SHOP MONSTER | MARISA MELTZER

Advent Calendars for Splurging

Here are five opulent options to count down the days with surprises this year.

EVERY HOLIDAY SEASON I buy multiple Advent calendars. I'm not so moved by counting down to Christmas as I am excited by the idea of getting a present every day. (If there were 365-day versions, I absolutely would want that.) Making coffee and feeding my dog are so much more fun when I first open up a tiny window and see what's waiting for me. It's also nice to have useful Advent calendars, so I get a Nespresso one every year to have a new assortment of coffee pods. And I usually buy my dog a treat Advent calendar. (I like Lily's Kitchen, which is a British organic dog treat company.)

Europe is far more committed to Advent calendars than the United States is, so I highly recommend browsing a store like Selfridges for its highly specific, gleefully British selection of themes, which includes gin, tea, Wedgwood and so many variations of chocolate. I also like the idea of the Kiosk48th Advent calendars. That's a Danish art and design brand that sells chunky ceramic candelabra and handmade place mats of Iraca palm. I hesitate to endorse this one because there are just four presents — one for each Advent Sunday — and Advent calendars with fewer than 24 days seem to miss the point of a daily endorphin rush, but I'm sure the presents are completely delightful.

Sometimes I am taken by the whimsy of an Advent calendar and succumb to buying several edible versions for myself. This year I want the François Doucet calendar for covered fruits and nuts. I imagine opening it at night and reclining with chocolate-covered almonds in one hand and a very slim, very cold flute of champagne in the other. And while that sounds deeply pleasant, the calendar did not make the cut when a friend asked for my recommendations for the most over-the-top luxurious Advent calendars.



Diptyque

Buying scented candles can be tricky because you're either buying one for someone else and have no idea if they'll like it, or buying one for yourself without really living with it first. Also, I don't believe in having one signature house scent. It's cool if you're in the Bode store and know it will always smell like Oud — that's reassuring — but at home, so much depends on the weather, what time of day it is, your own mood. The obvious answer is having a wardrobe of home scents. I do, but I've been hoarding candles and incense for two decades. A faster approach would be the Diptyque Advent calendar, which includes 10 scented candles in its most popular scents (yesss to Mimosa and Feu de Bois), soap, perfumes and some kind of metal holiday decorations.

This year, for the first time, Diptyque is including all three of its limited-edition holiday candles, which I am a complete sucker for because they have names like Étincelles ("Spark . . . a comforting scent that blends the smell of a wood fire with delicious notes of coffee and chocolate"). Maybe all you need to know is that this calendar glows in the dark? *$480.*



Susanne Kaufmann

Almost exactly six years ago, I had just checked into a hotel in Berlin, where I was supposed to meet a longtime friend and sometimes more-than-friend who was living in England. He never showed up. No call, no email, nothing. I was hurt and confused and went to the hotel's spa to book a massage and got distracted by a display of Susanne Kaufmann Advent calendars. I bought one and hauled it back to New York. I don't know if it was the St. John's wort in the bath oil or just the overall luxe-but-no-nonsense Teutonic branding, but I have never gotten over a man faster. There are many, many beauty Advent calendars — I've heard the Liberty one is coveted, and La Mer seems fancy — but the Kaufmann calendar is the best combination of useful (travel-size products) and splurgy (so many lotions and oils to rub on your body). *$510.*



Hanky Panky

Once I read that Justin Timberlake wore a fresh pair of socks every day and then, I guess, just threw them away. I'm not sure if the story is true or where I read it, but it has stayed with me for the feeling of bounty that all those perfect and clean socks must have given him. It's a feeling I chase every day. Hanky Panky has an Advent calendar that includes 25 pairs of underwear. (I wouldn't throw them away after wearing but rather delight in not having to do laundry for so long.) It involves a few buy-ins: that you're between sizes 2 and 12 and that you want to wear a low-rise thong. It's like "It's Raining Men" but with lace panties in so many colors that I counted nine shades of blue and green alone. *$660.*



Tiffany & Company

Tiffany & Company has this four-foot-tall Advent calendar made of wood that looks like a stack of boxes. The store is doing a collaboration using Andy Warhol's greeting card designs. When it's opened, it reveals 24 boxes in Tiffany's signature blue. The calendar is grand and lovely! But that's not the point. The point is that "clients can work with their preferred client adviser to curate the perfect Advent calendar." Which means I could, in an Eartha Kitt singing "Santa Baby" kind of way, dictate my own gifts or send some benevolent and vaguely rich husband I lack to fill it up. How about the Tiffany HardWear graduated link necklace in 18-karat gold ($15,000)? Maybe throw in one of those new Tiffany Lock bangles in yellow gold ($6,800)? And ever since I watched the Netflix series "Halston," I've been ready to start an Elsa Peretti collection, so I'd get a silver or a gold Bone cuff — or both, I have 24 days! I would be sure to get some diamond studs for all of my friends because, above all else, I am a kind and generous fantasy gift giver. Price unknown!

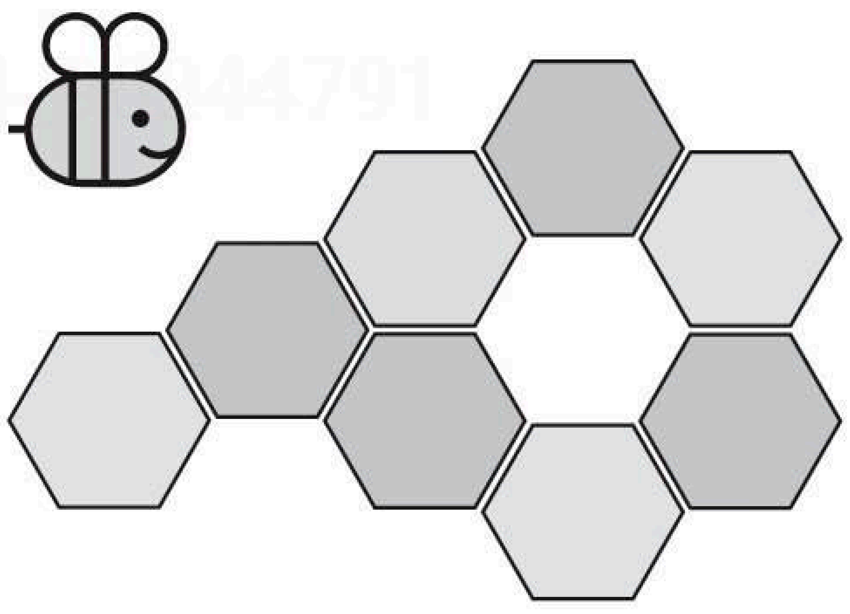


Harry & David

I'm going to lead with why I think this Advent calendar is really classy, which is: One of the items is a Royal Riviera pear — a variety of Comice pear hailing from France — wrapped in gold foil. If I had my way, this would be behind Door No. 24. Actually, if I had my way, there would be an Advent calendar entirely made up of obscure or semi-obscure fruit varieties wrapped in gold foil, but the fact that there is one is the most elegant thing I can think of at the moment. I would also eat the hell out of the trail mix, the single slice of baklava and the mint chocolates. But really this is about spending $200 on the ability to open up a single pear from gold foil. My heart beats faster in anticipation. *$199.99.*

Shop Monster is a new column for people whose fantasy life involves a lot of shopping.

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FIFTH AVENUE & 54TH STREET

Dressing Wakanda To Seize a Vision

By VANESSA FRIEDMAN

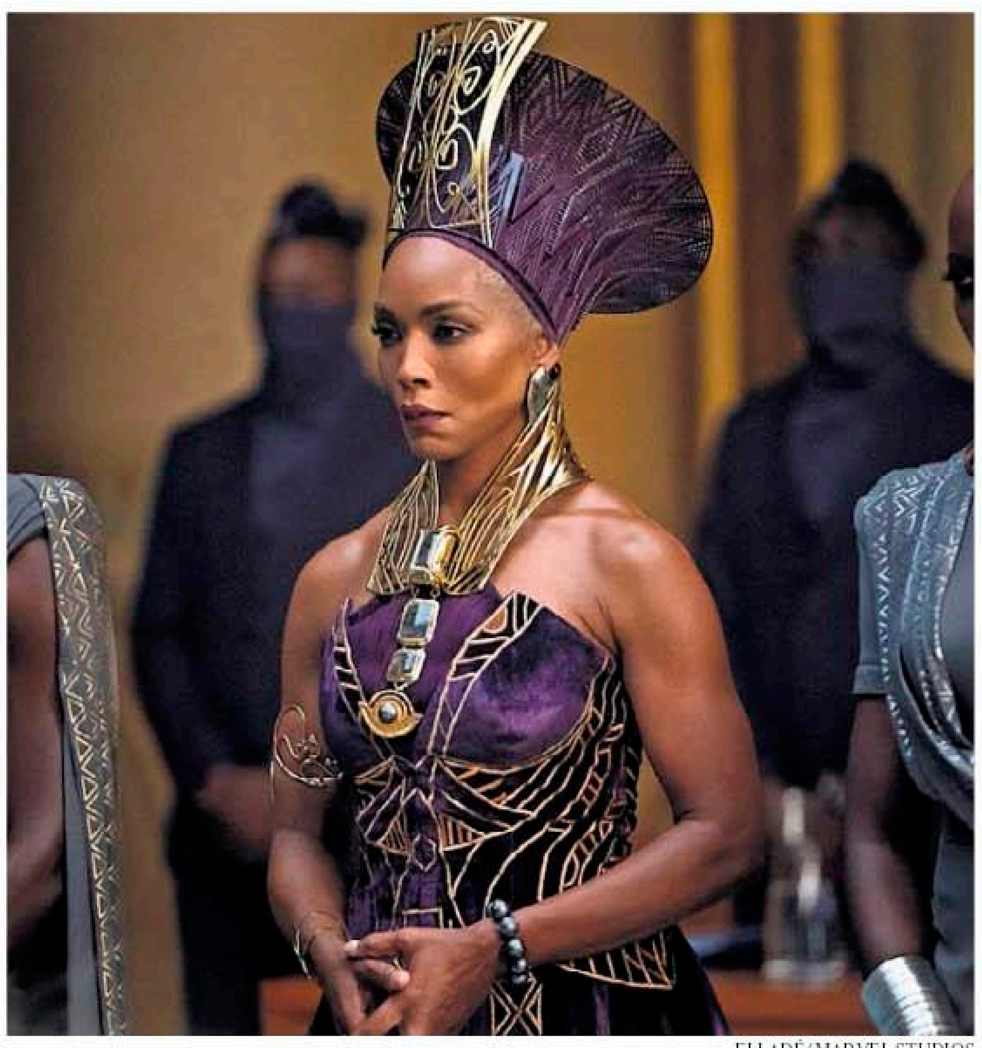
The immersive Afrofuturist vision that defined the 2018 film "Black Panther" — the one that connected African history to utopian technology, the one that seeped out onto red carpets, inspired hundreds of Halloween outfits and put a spotlight on the importance of costume design as a vehicle for centering overlooked aesthetic legacies in the pop culture conversation — is back in "Black Panther: Wakanda Forever" at an even more expansive, emotional scale.

That vision now encompasses Mayan and Aztec history, adding the heritage of two great civilizations to the world it has already imagined. Once again, it channels them through clothes via the story of the Talokan people, who live under the sea and are the dramatic foil to the Wakandans of the first film. What each group wears plays a crucial role in crafting their story and characters. In the image-making, every detail matters.

To understand just how much, Ruth E. Carter, whose work on the first film made her the first Black woman to win an Academy Award for best costume design, agreed to talk via Zoom from her temporary office in Atlanta to explain the details behind what she thought were the most meaningful pieces in "Wakanda Forever."

Given that Ms. Carter designed "hundreds of character pieces" for the film, working with ateliers and artists in the United States, France, India and New Zealand, not to mention brands including Adidas and Iris van Herpen, the choice was not exactly an easy one.

Answers have been edited.



ELI ADÉ/MARVEL STUDIOS

Queen Ramonda, in Purple Dress and Crown

"She wears this to a U.N. meeting in Geneva, and I wanted you to recognize right away that this is the queen, but because of T'Challa's death, she is now both the queen and the king. The purple dress represents the color of the royal family — color impacts the audience and story enormously — and she has a 3-D printed crown and collar.

"The crown is the same style she wore in the first film, which was also 3-D printed to reflect the fact that Wakandans are technologically advanced enough to create wearable art, and modeled on the isicholo, a Zulu married woman's hat. The collar has additional gemstones that were added by jeweler Douriean Fletcher. So it's a combination of computer-generated designs by the artist Julia Koerner and handwork. The dress has a series of Wakandan hieroglyphs going down the center and sides and converge at the neckpiece, so she almost becomes a totem. That is her stature now. It probably took four to six months to make."



ELI ADÉ/MARVEL STUDIOS

Namor, Head of the Talokan, in Battle Dress

"For the Mayan elements, we went through archaeology, architecture, artifacts and paintings. We were getting into the very specific elements that would be the historical anchor of the film, which was postclassical Mayan.

"This is Namor's fighting look. He is also known as Kukulkan, the 'feathered serpent god,' as the feathered serpent is a deity represented in a lot of Mayan artistry. So he is wearing a circular collar with a two-headed serpent with the mouths opened to a pearl, which represents the water. And he is also wearing pearls and conch shells around his neck to represent the water. His green earring — it's called an ear flare — also represents jade, and the water.

"The collar was made by the Weta workshop in New Zealand. It was first sketched, then carved in clay, then molded, and the mold was filled with a synthetic sort of silicon. That was then hand-painted to resemble the actual material: jade or pearls or leather."



ANNETTE BROWN/MARVEL STUDIOS

Nakia, in Her Submersible Suit

"This is the suit Nakia (right) wears when she returns to Wakanda to rescue Shuri from the underwater world. I really love the South African body painters who represent their tribe and their culture with elaborate body paint. So that's where this started. The idea was taken from the culture of the Suri, Mursi and Surma tribes of Africa, which were the basis of the river tribe, Nakia's tribe.

"An artist and I sat down with a sketch and he painted different tribal line work all over the suit. After it was dried, it was taken apart, and we scanned it back into the computer. Nakia wore exclusively green in the first movie, to reflect the grass and foliage and water, and this brought her back to that — though we added a sort of bioluminescent paint to the front for the scenes where she would go into the depths of the ocean."



ANNETTE BROWN/MARVEL STUDIOS

Shuri, T'Challa's Sister, in the Underwater World

"This is the dress and neckpiece Shuri wears after she is captured by the Talokan. They give her a ceremonial dress to wear to go see Namor, who tells her of his origin. The Mayans used a lot of sheer fabric, so the dress is sheer to reflect that culture. They also invented rubber, so there was a nice list of places I could go to come up with the material for the key players. The neckpiece is made up of clay beads to represent jade and pink, to represent the Spondylus shell, and pearls, to represent the water. It's inspired by Mayan vases that depicted rulers and people of nobility.

"The neckpiece was made by Iris van Herpen, the Dutch designer, handmade in her atelier. I've always admired her vision and her ability to translate underwater movement and fashion, though her clothing is made to be seen on land, not underwater."



ELI ADÉ/MARVEL STUDIOS

M'Baku, Head of the Jabari Tribe, in Armor

"The Jabari choose wood as the substance for their armor, but because the film requires a lot of stunting, you can't use hard substances. We worked with artists who sculpted the breastplate out of clay. There is a large belt that represents M'Baku's status as the ruler, with ropes and a raffia skirt based on the Dogon tribe of Mali, and a leather sheath underneath it.

"In the comics, decades ago, M'Baku was the silverback gorilla. He wore a big gorilla head, and you could see his face protruding from the mouth — but we decided to create the gorilla face on the chest of his armor with cowrie shells that represent royalty. M'Baku also has monkey fur arm coverings, but the policy with Disney is that you don't use real fur. It was a long process of trying to find a fur that could go in the water and come out looking passable and not like synthetic fiber."





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LOOK AGAIN

Lots of Red, White and Blue, but No Ivanka

Decoding the many visual cues of Donald Trump's latest presidential announcement.

By VANESSA FRIEDMAN

This time around there was no escalator to carry him down, like Zeus descending from the heavens. There was an adoring crowd, though. There was some family, though not all of it. And there were flags — lots of flags!

A veritable army of flags stood sentry below the crystal chandeliers of the Mar-a-Lago ballroom, lining the stage in stars and stripes Tuesday as Donald J. Trump declared his candidacy for president in 2024 in his matching bright red, too-long tie, blowzy blue suit (complete with American flag lapel pin) and white shirt.

Even before he started into his rambling, accusatory speech filled with revisionist history and dire warnings about "Marxists" and "globalists," apocalyptic declarations of failure that only he could rectify and promises to "make American wealthy again," the flags were the accessories that framed the story.

There they stood, a window dressing of patriotism to cover the dark cloud of impeachments, lawsuits and failed Trump-endorsed midterm candidates that hangs over his head. There they stood, as if to wash away the memories of the last flags that flew for Mr. Trump: the confederate flags and MAGA flags carried by the Jan. 6 insurrectionists. There they stood, as if to prove just how much he loves his country: not just one or two flags' worth, but tons of flags' worth.

They were a reminder of just how much Mr. Trump loved the pomp and circumstance attached to the presidency and how adept he was at wielding the scenography of state to his own ends. He said he wanted to keep the evening "elegant," but the phrase that came to mind was déjà vu. A foreshadowing, perhaps, of the theater to come as he prepares to "fight more than anyone" to win back the office he lost in 2020, using every visual aid at his disposal.

Mr. Trump always hewed to the idea that an image can be worth a whole stack of policy papers. He even reminded everyone of how he learned it in his speech, crowing over the "firing" of Speaker Nancy Pelosi as Republicans are on the verge of taking back the House of Representatives as if she had been a candidate on "The Apprentice."

Still, all the flags couldn't quite cover up the conspicuous absence of some Trump family members.

In the audience were his sons Barron and Eric (whom Mr. Trump perhaps unwittingly compared to Al Capone and Jesse James in his speech), along with Eric's wife, Lara. Also his son-in-law Jared Kushner but not Ivanka, who played a starring role during Mr. Trump's term in office but has announced via an Instagram story that she is bowing out of Season 2. And not Don Jr., though his fiancée, Kimberly Guilfoyle, was there. As for Tiffany, she was presumably on her honeymoon after her marriage last weekend.

Their absence may be the reason Mr. Trump skipped the family finale, usually de rigueur after any large political declaration, choosing instead to invite only Melania to join him onstage. Remember when everyone thought their marriage might end after he left office?

Amid the red, white and blue, she looked positively understated in a blue and white polka-dot blouse and white skirt, tucked-in and ready for business.

That her appearance and choice of costume also happened to make for a marked contrast with the recent showing of Casey DeSantis, the wife of Ron DeSantis, the Florida governor and potential Trump rival, who took to the stage after his electoral victory last week in an oddly prom-queen-like gold mermaid gown, was probably not a coincidence.

Odds are, it was a salvo.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAUL MARTINEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

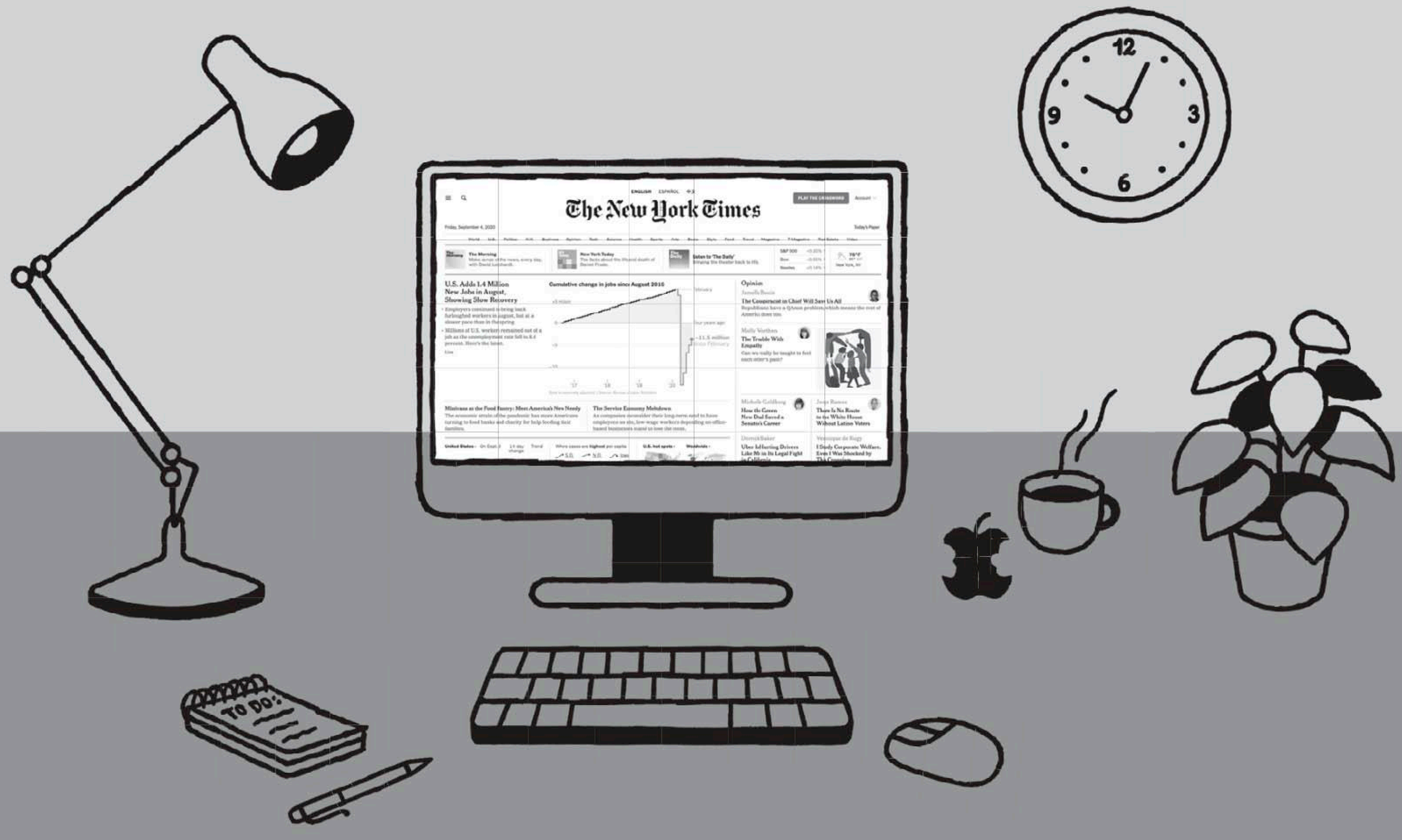


Above, Melania and Donald Trump on Tuesday night, after he announced his candidacy. Left, in background, Lara Trump, Jared Kushner, center, and Eric Trump.

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Designer Meets Rocker; Creativity Erupts

Christian Joy has long helped to define the look of Karen O of the Yeah Yeah Yeahs.

By CHRISTOPHER BARNARD



YAEL MALKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Before the women became fashion designer and muse, they connected over relationships of a different sort.

"We would talk about cute boys," Christian Joy said of her early conversations with a young Karen Orzolek, the frontwoman of the rock band the Yeah Yeah Yeahs, who is now known simply as Karen O.

This weekend, the Yeah Yeah Yeahs are scheduled to play in Mexico as part of the band's tour for its fifth and latest album, "Cool It Down," which was nominated for two Grammy Awards this week. Karen O plans to perform in one of the newest costumes that Ms. Joy made for her: a multicolored studded jumpsuit complete with red tinseled opera gloves and a glittering red, black and blue cape featuring a sunburst.

"I wanted her to take it to a really grandiose place," Karen O said in a phone call, noting the look was inspired by the occult films of the British director Ken Russell, mysticism and 1970s glam rock.

The costume, which Karen O debuted last month at a concert at Forest Hills Stadium in Queens, is among the most recent outfits born of her creative partnership with Ms. Joy. (Another: a kaleidoscopic bodysuit trimmed in primary-colored tape.) Both "very tomboyish" women, as Karen O put it, who favor D.I.Y. over runway fashion, the designer and muse have put their own theatrical stamp on rock-star style since they started working together 21 years ago. "I think a lot of people don't realize that we were doing this stuff before Lady Gaga," Karen O said. "I'm sure she was seeing some of this stuff, too."

Katie Baron, the author of "Fashion + Music: Fashion Creatives Shaping Pop Culture," compared Karen O's partnership with Ms. Joy to that of David Bowie and Kansai Yamamoto, the fashion designer who made many of Mr. Bowie's costumes.

"There were tons of mini Karen Os at Yeah Yeah Yeahs shows," said the author Lizzy Goodman, whose book chronicling New York's 2000s indie rock scene, "Meet Me in the Bathroom," was the basis for a new documentary. "You would see tattered prom dresses, fingerless gloves, fishnets. They radiated and reflected what we were all feeling about how we wanted to look and have permission to dress."

Ms. Joy, 48, met Karen O, 43, in 2000. At the time, Ms. Joy was working for Daryl K, the cult fashion brand known for its low-rise flare jeans, at its store in the East Village, now closed. Karen O, then an aspiring singer and film student at N.Y.U., would often stop by.

Born Christiane Joy Hultquist in Marion, Iowa, Ms. Joy was then experimenting with fashion design using castoff prom dresses bought at a Salvation Army store near where she was living in the Clinton Hill neighborhood of Brooklyn. She taught herself how to deconstruct the dresses, which she would then refashion into new garments and sell at Timtoum, a boutique on the Lower East Side, also now closed.

She and Karen O quickly became friends, discussing musicians that both liked (Beck, Sparklehorse) and films that Karen O made at college. One film in particular struck a chord with Ms. Joy: "Nice Mice in a Cruel World," about a group of rodents brutally murdered by marauding cats. "I thought, 'This girl is insane,'" Ms. Joy recalled. She added: "To me art and fashion were this higher thing. I didn't realize that you could be funny and ridiculous. That sent me into this whole other place."

Soon after, Karen O gave Ms. Joy a CD featuring the band she had just formed with Brian Chase and Nick Zinner, called Yeah Yeah Yeahs. "I thought, 'Ugh, this is going to be terrible,'" Ms. Joy recalled. Then she listened to the music. "I remember hearing it and thinking, 'Holy crap, this is really good.'" In 2001, Karen O asked Ms. Joy to design a dress for the singer to wear at a February show by the band at the Cooler, a nightclub in Manhattan's meatpacking district.

"I had one night to make it," said Ms. Joy, who began by taking a secondhand blue-satin prom gown and shredding it. She then added plastic flowers to the drop-waist dress, which looked as if it had been sent through a wood chipper, and wrote "Yeah Yeah Yeahs" on it with white paint. "It was hideous," Ms. Joy added, laughing.

Karen O remembered the dress differently. "It was just explosive to the eye," she said. "I thought, 'Dear Lord, let me be able to live up to this dress onstage.'"

As the band's profile rose, so did the number of Karen O's (often last-minute) requests for outfits designed by Ms. Joy. "Karen would call and say, 'Hey can you make me something, we are getting shot for Rolling Stone tomorrow,'" Ms. Joy said.

A singer serves as a muse for a self-taught fashion partner.



CHRISTIAN JOY

For two decades, the designer Christian Joy, above, has worked with Karen Orzolek, the frontwoman of the rock band the Yeah Yeah Yeahs, known as Karen O, left, right and below in outfits created by Ms. Joy. At left is the first dress she made for Karen O, in 2001. At right is a kaleidoscopic bodysuit trimmed in primary-colored tape created this year. The creations below span the years 2003 to 2013.



MARK HORTON/GETTY IMAGES

The singer's early costumes made by Ms. Joy — another reworked prom dress covered in fake dollar bills for a 2003 feature in The Face magazine; a spandex tube dress with silver peplum that the singer wore on a 2004 cover of Spin — differed in style from what the Strokes, Interpol and other rock acts at the time were wearing, Karen O said.

"The look that everybody was sporting was just like striped shirts, skinny jeans, leather jackets or Member's Only jackets," added Karen O, who in the music video for the Yeah Yeah Yeahs's 2009 song "Heads Will Roll" wore a red spandex tank dress with poufy leg-of-mutton sleeves that Ms. Joy made using a shower curtain she had bought at a dollar store.

Designing more pieces for Karen O required Ms. Joy, who briefly studied photography at Columbia College Chicago before dropping out, to learn how to use a sewing machine and the art of pattern making. To this day, she has had no formal training in fashion design. Since 2003, Ms. Joy has worked from a studio at her home in the Greenpoint neighborhood of Brooklyn, which she shares with her husband, Jason Grisell, a musician. She has one assistant who has worked with her for 18 years; otherwise, the Christian Joy atelier is a maison of one.

Raised with five siblings, Ms. Joy said that her mother, Connie Hultquist, who died last year, "really taught me how to survive on not a lot, how to work with not a lot, to persevere."

Her collaborative process with Karen O hasn't changed much over the years, though it has involved less face-to-face conversations since the singer moved from New York to Los Angeles in 2014.

Karen O will ask Ms. Joy to design something for a performance or video, occasionally providing scant references. There are no mood boards, no endless fittings. But there is "a sadomasochistic aspect of both our personal and working relationships," Karen O said, explaining that Ms. Joy "tortures herself to come up with some brilliant idea, cursing my name every step of the way," only for the tables to turn when the singer debuts an outfit onstage. The reveal, Karen O added, is "a bit of torture for me."

Their partnership is rooted in "a deep trust," Karen O said. "Whatever it is going to be is a million times better that anything I could guide her toward."

"It doesn't always work out," she added. "Sometimes it's a miss!"

One such miss the two agree on: a dress Ms. Joy made for Karen O to wear at a 2006 show at the Bowery Ballroom. It had "these really phallic striped stuffed appendages coming out of the neck," Karen O recalled, and "pukey, fluorescent green spots" painted on it. (The dots, Ms. Joy said, were inspired by the artist Yayoi Kusama.)

The dress "was a masterpiece of being so bad it was good," added Karen O, who wore it later that year for a feature in the French fashion magazine Self Service.

The Yeah Yeah Yeahs's "Cool It Down" tour was the first time that Karen O commissioned pieces from another designer, Yuima Nakazato in Tokyo, who made the singer a holographic bodysuit, cape and hat that she has worn at recent shows. Ms. Joy has also designed clothes for other singers, including Brittany Howard of the Alabama Shakes and Maggie Rogers, between projects for Karen O.

But occasionally straying from their partnership has not diluted the strength of their sartorial bond.

"She's got this gift to create happiness," Karen O said about Ms. Joy. "What I wear onstage and how I present myself brings a lot of joy. That's at the heart of it. It's not about a trend. It's just the joy of creating."



CAITLIN MOGRIDGE/REDFERNS, VIA GETTY IMAGES



JO HALE/GETTY IMAGES



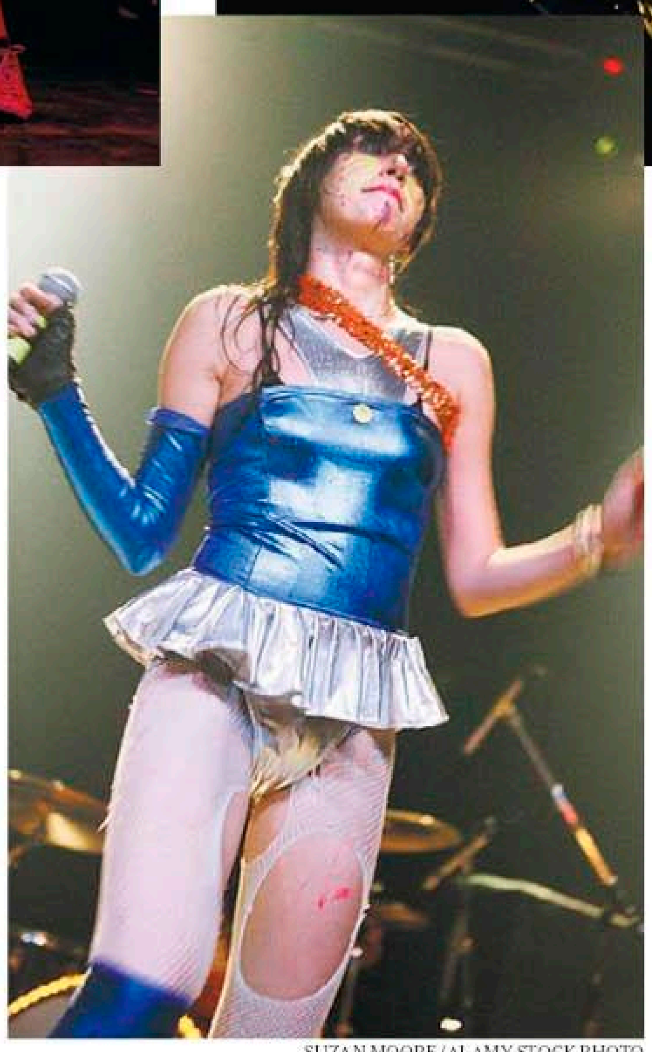
ANNA WEBBER/WIREIMAGE



JOHN SHEARER/WIREIMAGE



YEAH YEAH YEAHS



SUZAN MOORE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO



BRIAN RASIC/GETTY IMAGES

Young Drone Pilots Energize a New Sport

MinChan Kim generates buzz for a racing league that now has televised events and sponsors.

By ALYSON KRUEGER



PHOTOGRAPHS VIA DRONE RACING LEAGUE

The pilots took turns speeding their drones through a neon-colored course, zooming around sharp turns and diving into gates at speeds of up to 90 miles per hour like turbocharged fireflies performing for a roaring audience of more than 5,000 people.

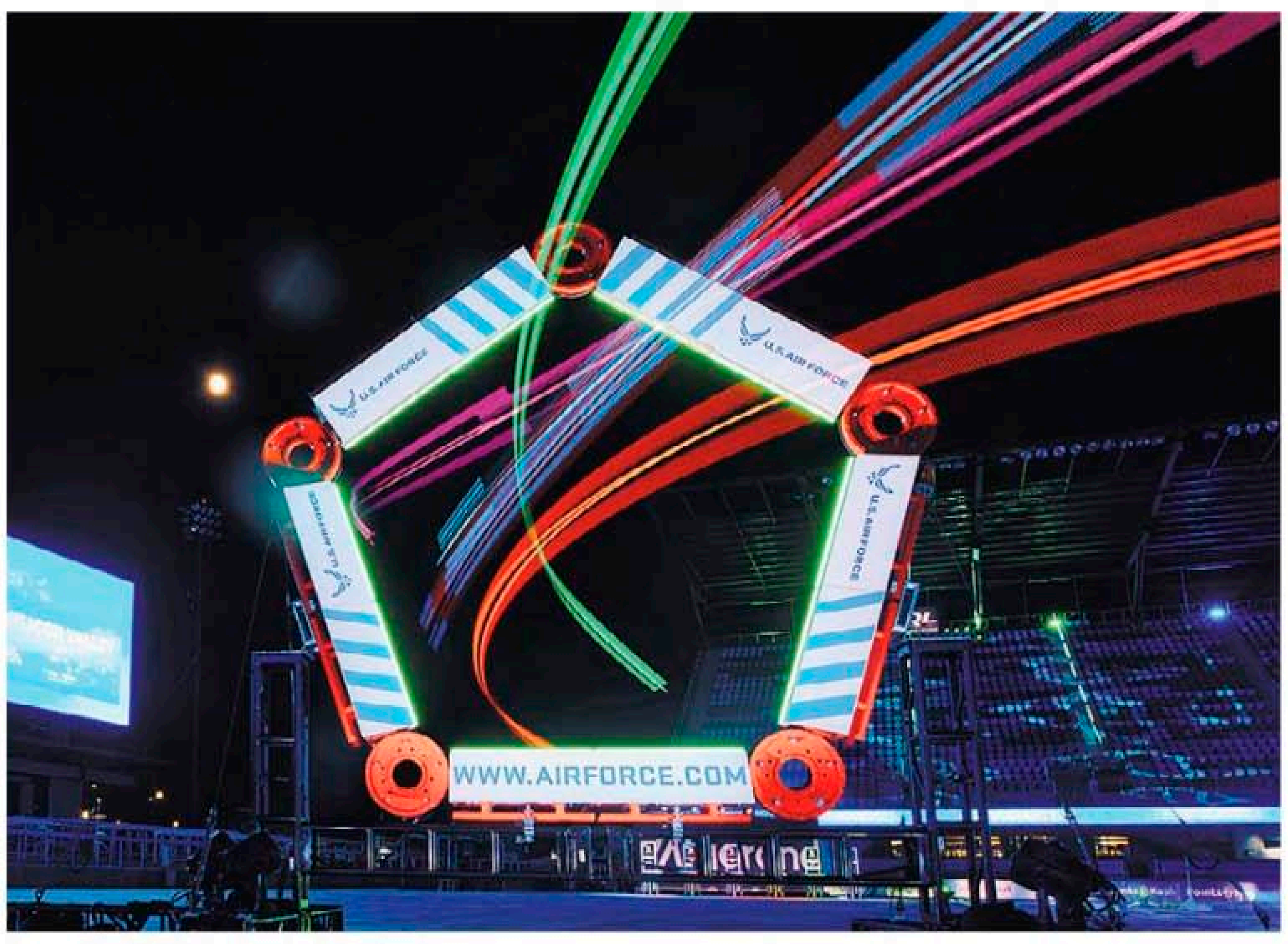
"When I was flying, I could hear them screaming," said MinChan Kim, 18, a drone pilot from South Korea who is considered one of the best in the world. "It made me nervous."

Mr. Kim, 18, can finally compete in the Drone Racing League, a professional sports group that pits 12 of the world's top drone pilots against one another in 14 events per season. Sometimes they compete in a simulator or in the metaverse. (Pilots wear goggles to see what their drones see.) But this season opener, which took place on Oct. 11 and will be broadcast on NBC Sports on Saturday, was an outdoor event at PayPal Park in San Jose, Calif.

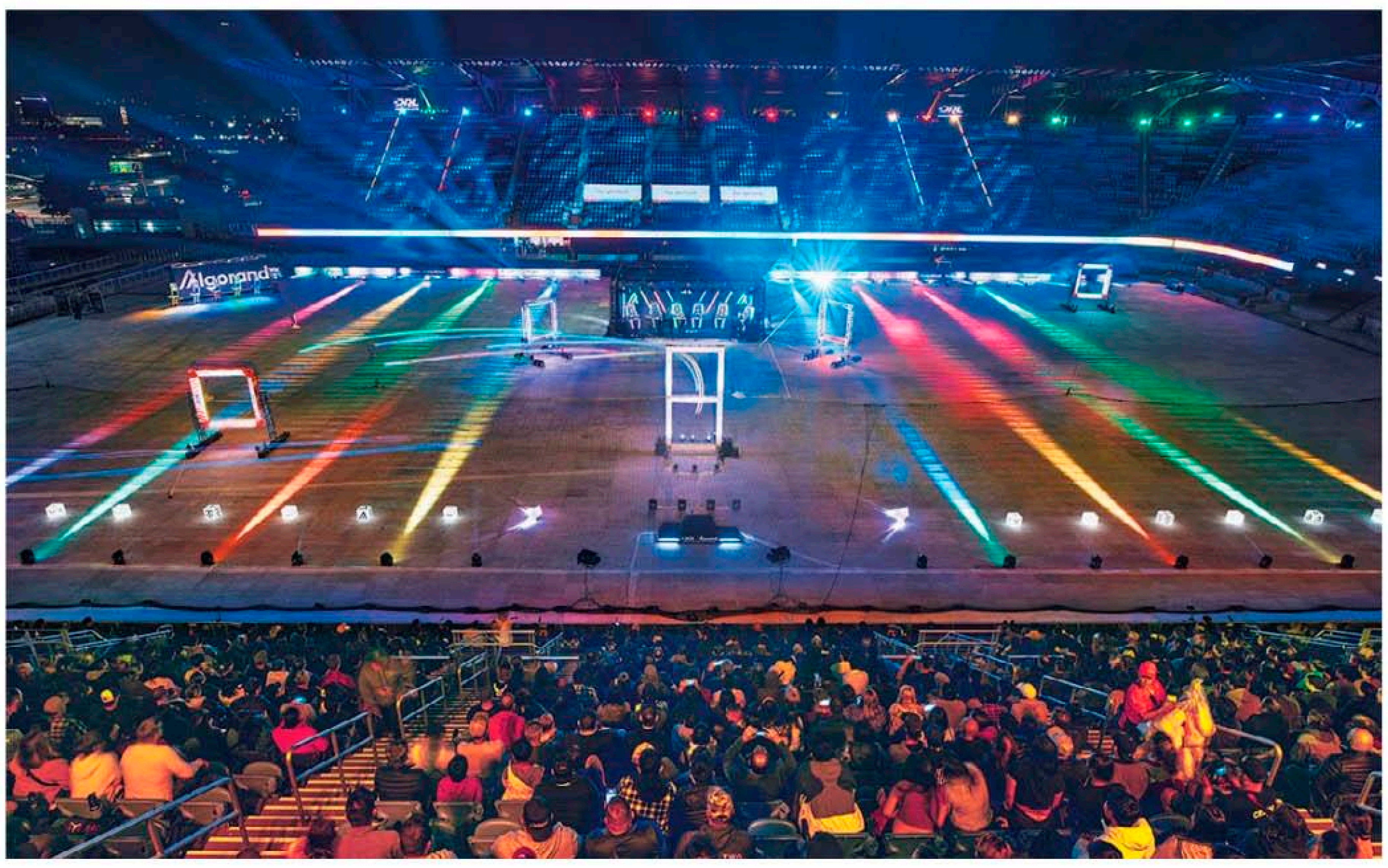
And Mr. Kim, known by his racing handle, MCKFPV, was the one to watch.

"We had our eye on him for a long time," said Nicholas Horbaczewski, the founder and chief executive of the league, who recruited Mr. Kim as soon as he turned 18.

The D.R.L. began in 2016, and this year its followers on TikTok soared to five million from 500,000, putting it far ahead of many other sports on the platform. It's now shown on television networks, including NBC and ESPN, and companies like Google and T-Mobile are getting involved with sponsorships. Fans are even betting on the sport.







And Mr. Kim and his fellow pilots, currently all men, are now in demand. They are tapped by famous actors to film their movies with their drones and are even inspiring Halloween costumes.

Mr. Kim began flying drones at the age of 12 after stumbling upon drone racing on YouTube and asking his parents — his father is a retired engineer and his mother cares for the household — if they would buy him one of the airborne robots.

"Sometimes they hit someone, sometimes they caught someone," he said. "I just thought it was so exciting."

He practiced so much — sometimes 12 or 13 hours a day at a field near his home in Paju, a city in South Korea that is a 20-minute drive from the North Korea border — that he attracted military attention. "Soldiers would check in to make sure I was not sending drones over the border," he said.

Competitive drone races are held around the world. The D.R.L., the only professional league, recruits from among those racers.

When he was 12, Mr. Kim won both his first national race in South Korea and an international competition in Dubai. That gave him $60,000 in prize money and a sponsor who paid for his drones. At 14, he started getting a tutor to keep up with his schoolwork while he was traveling for drone racing competitions, and Mr. Kim opted to fly drones instead of having a social life.

"I would like to date someone, but I am too busy with racing," he said.

He is now on the radar of celebrities who want cutting-edge drone cinematography.

"You know Itzy, the K-pop girl group?" he said. "They reached out to me through Instagram to do a music video." (The five-member girl band has more than 18 million followers on Instagram; Mr. Kim has 116,000.)

He also filmed Jung Ho-yeon, the South Korean actress who starred in "Squid Game," modeling outfits in Seoul's sprawling Starfield COEX Mall this year.

"It was way more nerve-racking than racing because I didn't want to injure her," he said. (Drones can go from 0 to 90 m.p.h. in seconds.)

But nothing, he said, was as terrifying as the opening day of this year's drone racing league in San Jose, when Mr. Kim raced in front of a sold-out crowd. It was the largest league event to date.

The morning of the race he couldn't eat or drink anything. "I tried caffeine drinks, but they make my hands shake," he said. He tried listening to music, whatever his phone was playing.

He didn't share his race results with The New York Times because the event had not aired yet, but he hinted that he needed more practice in front of live audiences. "After the race, people asked me for autographs or selfies," he said. "I wasn't really sure if I was famous before that."

Eighty percent of D.R.L. fans are under 35, according to the league, and 70 percent of them don't follow the big five sports — football, basketball, soccer, baseball and hockey.

"Our fans are people who follow Elon Musk, who are hanging on every rumor of the next iPhone watch," Mr. Horbaczewski said. "They don't really care how far Tom Brady can throw a football."

Part of drone racing's appeal is similar to that of Formula 1: the sights, in this case, colored robots zooming through the air, along with buzzing and swishing sounds. "We make our courses wrap around the audience," Mr. Horbaczewski said. "They can feel the air coming off of them, they can hear the roar of the motors."

When Mr. Horbaczewski first pitched the program to NBC, the network was excited by the visuals, he said. "People referred to the pod racing scene of Episode I of 'Star Wars,'" he said.

Early fans of the D.R.L. now have more company.

Abhishek Praveenkumar, 21, is a drone racer from Mumbai, India, who is a Ph.D. student in computer science at Santa Clara University. He attended the D.R.L. event in October in San Jose with 25 classmates, most of whom had never watched a race before.

"We used to watch sports like soccer and Formula 1, and now we are watching this too," Mr. Praveenkumar said. "Ever since the race, many of my classmates have come up to ask me how to get a drone, how to practice flying."

"I am definitely going to help them," he added. "Drones are something everybody will be into soon. I can already see it happening."

Top, the drone pilot MinChan Kim. Second row and above, a Drone Racing League event drew excited fans in San Jose, Calif. Alex Vanover, right, was the 2019 champion.



Racers attract fans as well as filmmakers who covet the technology.

As drone racing continues to go mainstream, there are more high-profile opportunities for pilots.

Alex Vanover, 22, won the Drone League Championship in 2019 but has only started getting identified outside of drone events this year.

"I got recognized at a gas station in L.A. the other day," he said. "That was a first. I've gotten noticed at airports." He has 55,000 followers on Instagram and 125,000 on TikTok. He even had fans dressing as him for Halloween this year.

Mr. Vanover grew up in Roanoke, Texas. He said he had received so many requests for media work that he moved to Los Angeles over the summer with his wife. The D.R.L. provides some commercial opportunities for pilots through its partnerships, but other deals are worked out by the pilots themselves.

This year Mr. Vanover traveled to New Orleans with Will Smith to film the movie "Emancipation," which is coming out in December on Apple TV+. "We did a lot of cinematic shots showcasing the swamps and the landscapes," Mr. Vanover said.

"Will wanted to learn more and fly a drone before the end of the shooting, but we didn't have a cheap enough drone for him to fly," Mr. Vanover said. "He definitely would have crashed it. Everybody does their first time."

Mr. Vanover has worked on a new Marvel movie and also shot two music videos for Justin Bieber, "Stay" and "Hold On." "If you watch 'Stay,' the drone shots are pretty obvious," he said. "There are a couple of shots where it flips upside down."

Mr. Vanover has had the chance to talk to Mr. Bieber briefly. "I would have never thought someone like him would think what I did was cool," Mr. Vanover said.

He wouldn't say how much he makes per gig, but he said the income allowed him to live comfortably.

Representatives for the D.R.L. would not say how much it pays pilots. Skyecam, a Los Angeles company that provides drone filming for music videos and movies, said a day rate depended on many factors, including location and drone equipment, though a typical rate for a feature film is $7,500 to $10,000. (Mr. Kim said he had made $1,500 to $2,000 for filming music videos and photo shoots.)

Drone racing now has a low barrier to entry. Even a few years ago, amateur pilots like Mr. Kim and Mr. Vanover would have to save up money to buy drones — they came in parts — that cost hundreds of dollars each.

Racing drones are still costly, but now pilots can train using a simulator. The D.R.L. sells one that costs $10 and can be played on an Xbox, PlayStation or a personal computer. Every year the league has an at-home global competition in which the winner gets promoted to be a professional pilot. "We have a million people using the simulator now," said Rachel Jacobson, the president of the D.R.L., who joined two and a half years ago after overseeing global partnerships for the National Basketball Association.

As popular as drone racing has become, some pilots still feel as if they are in a niche world. Mr. Kim said neither his two older sisters, ages 20 and 30, nor his friends were that interested in drone racing.

"My sisters will watch sometimes, but I don't think they like it," he said. "My friends have never been to a race."

And critics point out that all the D.R.L. pilots are male. (According to the league, its fan base is around 80 percent male.)

Someone trying to change that is Ryan Lindsay Lessard, 40, a fourth-grade teacher at a public school in Buxton, Maine, who races drones in her free time. She created a women's drone racing team, which competes in national and international races.

The team tries to mentor young girls who want to race, and Ms. Lessard has been in talks with the D.R.L. to create a women's league.

Ms. Jacobson said the league was working on getting more women involved in the sport, both as fans and pilots. "We want to showcase D.R.L. pilots of all genders racing shoulder to shoulder on the same flight deck, and we look forward to finding our first female pilot soon," she said.

In the meantime, Ms. Lessard is trying to expose her students to drones. She believes the sport is good for more cerebral children who are not interested in traditional sports.

"It's better than video games because you are outside, getting fresh air," she said. "You fly against other people. It's a social thing."

She has her students follow the D.R.L. to get them excited about drones and technology. "They knew the names of the pilots, they had the jerseys, they watched it on television," she said.

One of their favorite racers is Mr. Kim. "This year we are really looking forward to seeing him fly," Ms. Lessard said, "because he is arguably the best in the world."